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L E T T E R S

B Y

C. HERVEY, Esq.

Travels

12 subjoined in
Index cut.
S. & C.

LETTERS

FROM

PORTUGAL, SPAIN,
ITALY AND GERMANY,

IN THE YEARS 1759, 1760, AND 1761.

By CHRISTOPHER HERVEY, Esq.

VOLUME THE FIRST.

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2

L E T T E R S

FROM

P O R T U G A L, &c.

L E T T E R I.

FALMOUTH, DEC. 20, 1759.

DEAR SIR,

YOU are to consider this as my first and introductory letter to the strict correspondence you have desired. The writing so much is no trouble, for as I shall do it without considering what I write, I do it likewise without difficulty.

B

You

You know already that the papers I am to send you are to be upon any subject, as it is the liberty you allow in writing, that makes them no trouble. You are to consider these productions as a strange mixture of incoherences; among which, however, you may chance to find some little matter that suits your taste. All I engage for, is to daub a sheet of paper over with a black fluid called ink; reducing it into certain hieroglyphical characters called letters; which letters shall be put together into little packets called words; and this is all I promise: reserving to myself the full and absolute power of writing in what language or style I please; intelligible or not; good, bad, or indifferent. In consequence of this agreement, you may expect to hear from me next week, and so on, if I am well, till my return to England.

L E T-



L E T T E R II.

ON BOARD THE EXPEDITION PACKET,
DEC. 30, 1758.

I HAVE now pretty nearly finished my voyage from Falmouth to Lisbon; and, as I have almost overcome all sea sickness, will give you the paper now due.

On Sunday last, the day before Christmas day, about three o'clock in the afternoon I embarked for Lisbon. I thought, indeed, I should have been left behind; for I had hardly finished dinner, when word was brought that the ship had weighed anchor and was under sail.

By making, however, the boatmen row stoutly, we got up with our packet before

B 2

the

she was out of the harbour. Indeed, as it happened, there was no danger of our being left behind, for the Captain of the ship was still on board, and she could not go out to sea till he was set on shore. To explain this seeming paradox you must know, that the Captains of these packets have sometimes the indolent desire of remaining by a comfortable fire-side, while their vessels, under the command of masters, buffet the relentless waves. Their interest likewise in this respect, if I am not misinformed, coincides with their inclinations, as they find it, I believe, turn to better account to act at home as merchants than abroad as sailors. Our sails being at length unfurled, we glided out of Falmouth harbour, with two vessels in our company; the one bound to the Groyne, as we unaccountably call Corunna, and the other to New York. After the second day, indeed, they left us to pursue their respective destinations; while we bore on, in a strait line to the south-west. Our cabin was
crouded

crouded with passengers, accumulated by a delay of five weeks at Falmouth; there being no packet there but one, which the custom-house officers had, to our confusion, seized, upon account of her having some counterband goods on board. Since we embarked, our time has been almost wholly past in eating, drinking, and sleep: though, instead of the latter, I rather ought to substitute the bed; which though I have pressed for ten hours every night, but a small part of that time was given to repose. Sometimes, indeed, stifled with our crouded situation, I have got upon deck, and taken an evening's walk there, to contemplate that great extent of ocean now spread all round me. Nothing to engage my eye but the expanse of the heavens and water; on which latter the vessel I am now sailing in rides but as a nut-shell.

Aut æs aut robur, &c. which I will give in Francis's translation of Horace.

Or oak, or brags, with triple fold
 That hardy mortal's daring breast enroll'd,
 Who, first to the wild ocean's rage
 Launch'd the frail bark, and heard the billows wage
 Impetuous war.

But, formidable as the watery element is,
 our island owes its greatness to her being
 surrounded with it.

L'orribil mar coll' onda sua vorace
 Forma vallo ficuro all' Anglia audace.

Or, as I shall attempt to translate it in
 English.

Old ocean's wave, tho' vex'd with angry storms,
 A rampart sure to hardy England forms.

Commerce, likewise, with her hundred
 joyful attendants, renders this situation of
 ours beneficial, even to our enemies; and,
 had not the old Roman idolatry given place
 to a much better religion, we ought to insti-
 tute rights in honour of Neptune, as the tute-
 lary deity of England.

LET-

L E T T E R III.

LISBON, DEC. 31, 1758.

I AM arrived safe in this harbour, but shall continue on board till I have received an answer to a letter I have sent into the town. Our passage was completed in exactly seven days; for the time they moored at Lisbon this Sunday, was, I believe, the very same with that in which they had weighed anchor from Falmouth the Sunday before. We were one day becalmed in our voyage; but the others made amends; for it blew so brisk, that we outrun the master's reckoning, and had got to the southward of Cape Finisterre, before he imagined we were come into the latitude of it. We did not, however, make land any where thereabout. Indeed, we purposely kept twenty or thirty leagues off, as the usual and more safe navigation.

B 4

gation. Had we been nigher within shore, we might have been in danger; for I remember asking the master in the morning where he thought we were, and he told me still in the bay of Biscay, as he knew it by the tumbling sea. But at twelve o'clock, when we made our observations, the Sun still mounted, and we found ourselves two degrees below Cape Finisterre, before we thought we had got into the latitude of it. A proof how very quick our vessel sailed. We should have been at Lisbon a day sooner, but yesterday we could not make land before it was dark, tho' we stood stretching our eyes upon deck, in expectation of seeing it. The Eastern horizon was skirted with a mist, which, I verily believe, was the coast of Portugal; but the Sun's speedy descent hindered our ascertaining it; and we put out to sea for more security. The sky too lowered upon us, and seemed to threaten a south west wind, which is dangerous in these parts. Nor did our master seem entirely at ease,

ease. He said, in England a cloudy sky portended nothing; but in these countries, where the heavens are generally clear to the highest degree, a gloomy hemisphere was often the forerunner of bad weather. But his apprehensions proved groundless, and the redoubted south-wester slept peacefully in his cavern. Not that I spent the night agreeably; on the contrary, it was the worst of all; for the lying to with a high sea communicated a motion to the ship, by no means agreeable to a landman. The next morning, however, dispelled our fears by a fine distant prospect of the rock of Lisbon, with the Sun rising in all his glory behind it. As the land we had made was high ground, and we, consequently, saw it at a great distance (I believe about twenty leagues off); you will not be surprised that, tho' we distinguished it at sun-rise, it was a long time before our vessel came up to it. But, imagine a gentle wind had now wafted us close to the rock, and that we were just entering into the mouth
of

of the Tagus. We here observed a ship seeming to lie in wait for us at the entrance. It alarmed us at first, as we thought she might be French, and were accordingly in no small hurry and confusion, preparing for an engagement. We discovered, however, at last, that it was the Hanover packet, just sailed from Lisbon. We hailed each other, shortened sail, and with great dexterity each ship went round the other, to know what news. We, indeed, had nothing material. But they informed us, that many of the principal nobles of Portugal had been taken up and thrown into prison, for the attack upon the king, and that the present critical situation of the affairs of that kingdom had caused the government to lay an embargo upon the shipping, which some English vessels had with difficulty got taken off from them alone. But it is now time for me to lay down the pen, tho' with a *promise of continuation*.

L E T.

L E T T E R IV.

LISBON, JAN. 16, 1759.

AFTER we had drained the Hanover packet of all her news, we took leave of her, and each vessel steered their respective course. We had not proceeded far when a curious sort of boat came alongside us, just after we had entered the mouth of the Tagus. She was come with a pilot to conduct us into the harbour, as the laws of this country oblige the most knowing mariners to have one. This pilot was the first Portuguese I had ever seen, which made his appearance the greater entertainment. He had on his long cloak thrown a second time over his left shoulder, which, added to a large perpendiculary cocked hat, and a pair of Falstaff's boots, rendered him altogether

a

a humorous *caricatura*. With much state did he parade up and down the deck, eating salt meat given him by the sailors, who were offended at his paring off the fat and throwing it into the sea, which caused execrations against his *Portuguese stomach*.

In the mean time the ship glided on under his direction, and after having left Cintra, and Mafra, a royal convent, upon the left hand, passed the bar, which is sometimes reckoned dangerous. We know little of bars in England, but the Western rivers of Spain, Portugal, and Barbary, mostly have them, caused, I suppose, by their lying more open to the Atlantic ocean, which drives up heaps of sand into the mouth of them.

We now saw Calcavelas and Cascais, and at last reached Bellem, or, as we pronounce it Bellisle, and the other pretty places situated upon the left hand shore of the river Tagus ; all which were less damaged by the earth-

earthquake than the buildings in the centre of the city of Lisbon. Upon a rising ground the king has built a temporary palace, which looks something like a prodigious long stable building, at least from the water; as you see nothing but a low wood-built house, with an extensive row of windows. We, in the mean time, continued our gentle course up the river, and now the city and all the shipping appeared in view. This I think one of the most delightful sights I ever beheld. The *golden* Tagus crouded with vessels of all sorts, and bounded by pretty rising lands on each side, which on the left were covered with houses, formed a most enchanting prospect. As the wind was not over fair, we spent much time in getting to our moorings; but at last our sails were furled, and we accomplished our voyage.

The next morning I went on shore, and a two wheeled chaise, a vehicle used in Lisbon instead of coaches, conducted me to my friend's

friend's house. I had scarcely proceeded an hundred yards before the devastation caused by the late earthquake presented itself to my view. Heaps of ruins lay on all sides, or where a few houses remained, they were so propped up with large pieces of timber, that they rather added to the horror of the scene. Melancholy reflections occupied me, and I considered that under my feet might lie hundreds of carcases, some of which, by the houses falling hollow upon them, were destroyed by the slow-consuming hand of famine, as the fire subsequent to the earthquake might not reach these now subterraneous regions. In the mean time our chaise continued its progress over the rubbish. They have, indeed, through most of the streets levelled a passage over the confused materials of the overthrown buildings. The book-keeper who attended me caused me at length to observe a perspective view of ruins, through which we were then passing, and told me, that was once the most populous

lous street in Lisbon. Think how affected I must be in beholding it a mass of broken walls, with open windows, through two or three rows of which you discovered still farther ruins; a harbour for thieves, owls and goats; in short, the seat of desolation!

After a long ride of four miles, for so far did this straggling town extend, we arrived at St. Apollonia, the quarter where my friend dwelt. Lisbon, perhaps, covers as much ground as any city in Europe; but the temporary houses built in the suburbs since the earthquake have encreased it.

We now, however, talk no more of this calamity. The tumults in which the state is at present involved eclipse, if I may be allowed the expression, their former misfortune, and will probably render me spectator of many a melancholy scene. It is said the nobles concerned in the nocturnal attack upon the king will be executed in a few days. As
most

most of them bore a fair character, and are names known in the triumphant days of Portugal, we cannot help dropping a tear of compassion for their fate. . Pity, however, apart, I enjoy the utmost tranquillity in the midst of this general confusion. I see the lightning blaze round me, but its bolts reach not my humble situation.

LET-

L E T T E R V.

LISBON, JAN. 14, 1756.

TH E flower of the nobility was executed yesterday. The marchioness of Tavora, a lady who seems to have been generally esteemed, died first. She was beheaded. Her husband and two sons, together with the duke of Aveiro, and the Conde d' Atouguia, were broken upon the wheel, and an assassins last of all burnt alive. All the dead bodies that had been previously executed were consumed along with him, and their ashes swept into the Tagus. Still more they say are to die; but who or when God knows. Some people tell me there is to be another execution in a few days. You see how mysterious every thing is here; but such is the government of Portugal. You shall have hereafter a fuller account of the whole affair,

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when I can get it with more authenticity ; and in the mean time I will give you a description of the earthquake, as related by every person in this city.

This fatal calamity happened on the first of November, 1755, between nine and ten o'clock in the forenoon. The weather was serene the preceding part of the morning, and the sea perfectly calm, when all on a sudden a noise was heard like a rumbling under ground, which continued for some time, till at last the shocks began. In a very short space they were several times repeated, and the ground was seen to move up and down, or to and fro like a ship at sea. The motion at first was not so violent, but as it increased by degrees, the floors and ceilings began to crack ; the roofs to fall, and the arches to give way. From the ruins a prodigious cloud of dust immediately arose, which overwhelmed the city with sudden darkness, but which gradually subsiding, the
trembling

trembling inhabitants of Lisbon re-beheld the Sun. Mr. Woodward, the master of the packet that brought me to Lisbon, was in his ship in the harbour at that time, and the following is his account of the effect of the earthquake upon the water. The first thing he perceived was the noise, which he thought resembled mostly that of another ship running foul of his. He started from his cabin, but when he was upon deck saw no vessel near him. His doubts, however, were soon cleared by a view of the town, which was now rocking; and in a short space afterwards he saw the steeples and towers give way, and fall. Nor was his ship exempt from the agitations experienced upon the land. She at first seemed only to tremble violently, but was afterwards moved perpendicularly up and down upon the water. However, neither Mr. Woodward's nor any other vessel received any considerable damage from the shocks. A great many, indeed, broke their cables and were driven out to sea, for the

prodigious strength of the tide was very remarkable, which changed often from ebb to flow, and ran up and down with inconceivable fury. Nothing could equal in the meantime the confusion of the inhabitants of Lisbon. Some fled to the churches, others from the churches to their abandoned houses, and each seemed to imagine the present place the most dangerous. Some were heard to lament their deceased relations; others were seeking them in vain: all joined in lifting up their suppliant hands to heaven, and begging mercy of the incensed deity. Many thought that the day of judgment was approaching; others that it was already come; nor were there wanting those who were afraid that the earth would gape and swallow up at once the city with its inhabitants; for, as every wall was nodding, and a hideous sound proceeded from the bowels of the earth, Lisbon did not only seem to be shaken, but torn from her foundations. At last the ground ceased to move, and the dust in time was
disfi-

dissipated by the wind. But the restored view of Lisbon increased the horror of the scene. That once so populous and flourishing city was now, as every inhabitant imagined, no more. The houses, streets and alleys were strewn with dead bodies. Some had their brains dashed out by the falling of walls and arches, but the greatest part that perished were those who were suffocated by the weight of the rubbish. They dug out a few indeed alive; some after four days, some after six, and some after eight; nor is it a little astonishing they should survive so long. The Roman catholics bring an instance of this in the person of Dionysia Rosa Maria, a girl of fifteen years of age, who they say is now living and well. Though the case may not be authentic in every circumstance, I will relate it. When first the buildings began to shake, she took fast hold of an image of St. Anthony of Lisbon, which she had in her chamber. The house tumbling soon after, she came down along with

it, mixed and confused in the ruins. Here she lay buried for the space of eight days, without food, till she was found among the dead bodies, and taken out without the least hurt in the presence of John Mello Sampayo, prelate of the holy patriarchal church, In amends for this uncertain account, I will give you another you may depend on, which is the escape of Sir Harry Frankland, the British consul. At the time of the earthquake he was going along the town in his chaise. The noise was the first thing he perceived, as indeed, it was with every person. But he imagined, like the rest, that it was only the King's coach, which generally drives very fast. The shocks, however, that immediately succeeded, soon convinced him what it was. He jumped, therefore, out of his chaise, and ran under the gateway of a house, thinking it was safer than to remain in a narrow street. He had but just taken shelter under the place, when he saw the opposite building fall upon his

his

his chaise and servants, and crush them to pieces. In about a minute more, the house under which he stood shared the same fate. The blows he received from some falling stones having stunned him, he lay for some time deprived of all sensation. Upon returning to himself, he found the house had fallen hollow upon him, though he was confined to so small a compass as to be able to touch the impending ruins with his hand. What shocked him most was, his having fallen upon a woman, who had taken refuge in the same place, and was now biting his arm in the agonies of death. Having recovered his strength a little, he endeavoured to deliver himself from this horrid situation, but so heavy a stone lay upon his body, that he could not shake it off. The struggles he made in doing it increased the woman's agonies, till death, at last, eased her of her pain. The consul upon this renewed his efforts, and at last removed the stone far enough to be able to crawl from beneath it.

He did not think, however, that his situation was much changed for the better, as the ruins did not permit him to stand up ; and he felt besides, that his thigh was considerably bruised, and that he had a couple of wounds in his side. His thigh seemed to have been evidently hurt by the great stone that fell upon it, but he cannot account for his side being wounded in that manner, without it was owing to something he fell against, upon the first crush of the building, before it had beat him quite down to the ground. After he had remained some time in this melancholy situation, he thought he observed at a distance, that a little light glimmered through part of the ruins. Here he immediately crawled in the best manner he was able, and found it to be a small opening between the rubbish. This, by pulling away the stones gently, he gradually enlarged ; for no small care was necessary, not to bring the whole upon his head. After much trouble, he worked an opening
large

large enough for his body to pass ; but no sooner was he in open air, than the most dismal scene possible was presented to his view. He beheld unhappy Lisbon now laid low in ruins ; he heard the shrieks and cries of people buried under them, without being able to give them any assistance ; and what made him think his escape more providential was, the fire having arrived to the very street where he then stood, as it was one of the first places in which it got to any head ; and by the delay of an hour or two he would have been burnt or smothered. But of this fire (which all say was worse than the earthquake,) I shall speak more fully in my next paper.

LET-

L E T T E R VI.

LISBON, JAN. 20, 1759.

THE wrath of Heaven was not yet satiated with the overthrow of Lisbon, tho' near half destroyed by the earthquake, and chose to afflict it with a new and still worse disaster. A fire broke out the same day in various parts of the city. This is easily accounted for by the timber and furniture falling upon the fire-places within the houses after they were thrown down. Besides, as it was the anniversary of All Saints, the altars of their churches were adorned with infinite numbers of wax lights. Nor was there help sufficient to check the flames upon their first breaking out, as most of the people had been dispersed about the fields in a state of stupefaction. This gave the
fire

fire time to spread on every side, and in four days it consumed more than one half of the private houses, and most of the principal buildings. I will not trouble you with a list of the public edifices that were destroyed. To these we may add the loss of innumerable records, public deeds, bonds, books of merchandize, parish books of baptisms, funerals and genealogies, without which no property can be settled, nor rights of inheritance sufficiently proved. Immense quantities of plate and money was either entirely lost, or melted together in a mass, so as not to be distinguished by the owner. Nor were multitudes of valuable pictures, hangings, pearls, diamonds, and other precious stones, ever recovered. In a word, every thing magnificent and valuable in the city was, for the most part, spoiled or consumed by the devouring flames; and the only way left of determining property or debts, was by the oaths of the parties, which many were wicked enough to turn to their advantage,

Nor

Nor were the earthquake and succeeding fire the only enemies to Lisbon. The incredible rising of the waters bore away a number of people and things. It seems probable that the motion which shook the earth was communicated to the neighbouring seas. Whatever might be the cause, undoubted was the effect ; for at Cascais, Setuval, Peniche, and even at Cadiz, many people were drowned by the inundations ; and at Lisbon the land was so far overflowed by the waters of the ocean, that bridges were destroyed, walls overturned, and many things of immense weight carried off to sea.

The city being thus destroyed, and the water affording but an inhospitable asylum to boats, the principal hopes remaining to the inhabitants were to fly into the neighbouring fields. Hither they flocked in crowds, uncertain afterwards whither to direct their weary steps. Their flight had been difficult ; for the town was encumbered

bered with heaps of ruins, which were often extremely high. In some parts they had been obliged to force away the rubbish with their hands, and creep, or climb, according as occasion offered. Many images of distress might be represented, but I leave your imagination to form a picture of the general horror.

The King and Queen, with the Princess of Brazil, the Infantas her sisters, and the Infant Don Pedro, were at that time by good fortune at their country palace, pleasantly situated three miles out of town towards the west. They got safe into the garden at the beginning of the earthquake, and from thence retired to a neighbouring seat, and erected tents, where they lived some months, till a wooden palace was run up for them. It was built at the same place they were at during the earthquake, by name Bellem, but names do not much signify to you, who were never upon the spot.

In

30 LETTERS FROM

In my next paper you shall have some account of the people's proceedings, after these extreme calamities.

LET-

L E T T E R VII.

LISBON, JAN. 25, 1759.

THE night succeeding the earthquake afforded but little rest to the late inhabitants of Lisbon, and that under the open air. The shocks were frequently repeated, and the whole city lay involved in flames and smoke. Those who, wearied with the fatigue of the day, had sunk down overpowered by sleep, were soon awakened by new shocks and by the cries of the surrounding multitude, imploring the divine mercy, and the intercession of the saints. Who could have imagined that the inhabitants of so populous, so wealthy and luxurious a city, should be reduced to such a degree of misery and want, as to have the earth alone for their bed, and the air only for their covering! They, at last, however, had recourse
to

to little tents made of blankets and sheets, and afterwards ran up wooden huts, to defend themselves from the inclemency of the weather. Provisions were likewise, at first, so scarce, that those who had nothing but dry bread thought themselves very rich and happy. The King did what he could to assist his subjects upon so melancholy an occasion. He distributed medicines to the sick, and provisions to those who were in health. He furnished several with materials for propping their ruinous buildings, and with money. In this latter respect, the example of the monarch was followed by the princes and princesses of the royal family; and several other lords and private persons. The King made, likewise, various other regulations for the public safety. Among the rest, he ordered that none of the magistrates or nobility should leave Lisbon, and that the price of things should remain the same as before. Persons were likewise sent to the provinces of the kingdom,

dom, to invite those who had fled from the city to return, and use compulsion, if necessary, with the labourers and tradesmen. A number of soldiers were ordered from the different towns of Estremadura and Alentejo, to reinforce the king's troops at Lisbon, where they were employed in assisting the ministers and royal officers in burying the dead; in levelling the streets and highways; and in guarding several places from the attacks of thieves. Of these there was such a number dispersed about the town, that no house was secure from being robbed; no church from being sacrilegiously plundered. Nor were even the bodies of the dead exempt from their violence, as they stripped them of whatever was most valuable. Orders were immediately issued for proceeding with the utmost severity, and without delay, against offenders of that sort. In consequence of which, thirty-four were hanged within the space of a few days, viz. eleven Portuguese, ten Spaniards, five Irish-

D men,

men, three Savoyards, two Frenchmen, one Polander, one Fleming, and one Moor. The direction of these affairs was committed to the duke de Lafoens, the king's cousin-german, and the first peer in Portugal.

The great shock, which lasted about seven minutes, was followed by four more, which, tho' of shorter duration, were of greater violence. The first of them was at eleven o'clock, a little above an hour after the principal shock. The second was upon the eighth day of the same month of November, before break of day. The third the eleventh of December, also before break of day. The fourth happened the twenty-first of the same month, about nine o'clock in the morning. There has, however, been besides a most amazing number of slighter shocks; and especially for the succeeding six months after the first. The earth too opened in various places, but did not form such caverns as have been represented by some,

some, as the largest crack was hardly able to swallow a man and horse. Some of these kept open for near a fortnight. The waters, likewise, of the wells and springs became of a turbid colour and offensive smell. But one of the most remarkable, as well as most horrid effects of the earthquake, was the disappearance of the key upon the river Tagus, which sunk under water, with above a hundred and fifty people upon it. As the custom-house stood near it, part of that was swallowed up also. The place was, out of curiosity, fathomed a day or two after, but no bottom could be found; and for a long time there remained a considerable depth of water, which, however, at present is reduced to five fathom. It is said that one escaped this horrid death, but I should hardly think it possible for the best swimmer to resist the eddies of water occasioned by the sinking of the key. What number of inhabitants were destroyed upon the whole, in the earthquake, is difficult to tell with any

D 2 exactness.

exactness. A Portuguese author thinks we might reckon them at about fifteen thousand. Some, indeed, pretend that seventy thousand perished, but they do not seem to consider, that the loss of people was not in proportion to the number of houses demolished. Certain, however, it is, that a great number lost their lives in this unhappy affair, and that Lisbon will, for many years, remember the fatal first of November, 1755.

LET-

L E T T E R IX.

LISBON, JAN. 30, 1759.

LITTLE or nothing more remains concerning the earthquake worthy your being made acquainted with. What was principally apprehended immediately after it, was the perishing with hunger ; but when the space of a day or two had a little quieted the apprehensions of the labouring people, provisions were again brought from the country. The city is said to have made a most horrid appearance by night after it had taken fire. In the day time little more was to be observed at a distance but the smoke. It no sooner however become dark than the flames were visible, shining bright through the windows of the buildings that were still upright. Nor were the ships in the harbour totally secure from the conflagration. The

D 3

wind

wind blew sparks and lighted pieces of wood upon their decks. Much care was necessary, for the sailors to exempt their vessels from the common fate of Lisbon. It is said, that one was quite set on fire, and having broken from her moorings, was driven up the river by the current all in a blaze. The English factory, after some days, united, and with much difficulty hired a house a few miles out of town, where they lived together a month. This union was the more necessary, as the Roman catholics were, at this time, particularly bigoted; and, consequently, more than ordinarily vehement against the protestants. They proceeded almost by force in making proselytes, and in one case did actually so. A malicious idea had likewise gained some little ground, that heaven had afflicted the city of Lisbon in this manner for suffering so many heretics to dwell in it. And yet the English church was the only one that had remained unhurt under its fury. These
ideas,

ideas, added to the fanatic madness of their priests, who ran wildly about the streets, with relics and crucifixes in their hands, crying out repentance and confession, made the English most desirous of collecting themselves into a body, which they did, as I have already mentioned. They never undressed for the first fortnight, and slept in a room all together; lying upon the best materials they could get, and in their chamber hung burning an old lanthorn. Every noise alarmed them, and every motion was an earthquake. In consequence of these agitated imaginations, they were continually hurrying out of doors in great confusion. The gentlemen in the mean time dispatched their servants to Lisbon, to secure the ruins of their houses from being plundered, as they were informed of the great quantity of robbers, notwithstanding the frequent executions of the government. And even these servants were scarcely able to restrain the audaciousness of the rogues, who were hardly driven

out from one corner, than they returned on the opposite side. In a few days each person began digging in his respective ruins, and many things would have been recovered, if the fire had not mixed and destroyed the whole. Curiosities of this kind were afterwards sold at a high price, as gold and silver run together, and other things of this sort. The merchants, however, suffered principally by the loss of their books, as it incapacitated them from claiming debts, which the Portuguese were unwilling to pay. During this interval of time, the workmen had run up a few slight houses of wood, which were inhabited for above a year, till better accommodations caused them to be abandoned. New buildings, however, were not allowed to be raised within the precincts of the city, as the court had, soon after the earthquake, issued out an edict to the contrary. The intention of this was to give time to prepare a proper plan for the rebuilding of the town, which, they say, has
at

at length been given out; but nothing has been put in execution; nor, indeed, has any thing been done since the earthquake, except removing the obstruction of stones and lumber from the streets. The deficiency of money is reported, and with probability, to be the cause of this delay, as the fresh duties laid upon imports and exports for that purpose, are by no means sufficient to answer such expences.

LET-

L E T T E R X.

LISBON, FEB. 3, 1759.

I WILL now attempt to give you some account of the late disturbances that have happened in this kingdom of Portugal. It is not, however, easy to get the certain truth of every thing, upon account of the great secrecy this government observes in all its proceedings.

The Portuguese jesuits considering themselves injured by their being prohibited from preaching and hearing confessions in these dominions, upon account of their conduct in the Brazils, had for some time nourished an inveterate hatred against the king and present government. They had, at last, flattered themselves with being able to revenge

venge their imagined wrongs by stirring up the Tavora family, and some other nobles that were disaffected to his majesty, to an open attempt against his life. One of the principal incitements they made use of, was the unlawful correspondence supposed to be carried on between the king and the young marchioness of Tavora, wife to the young marquis of the same title, who suffered a few days ago. The jesuits, and Malagrida, one of them in particular, did not fail to exaggerate the heinousness of this crime to the utmost of their power. They represented how ignominious it was, that a person, who had the honour of being allied by marriage to the illustrious name of Tavora, should become a prostitute even to a king. That all his titles ought not to defend this haughty violator of the most sacred laws of religion from their vengeance; that his death was registered in heaven, and the authors of it would be guilty only of a *venial sin*, for which the cause would easily atone. In
this

this manner, and by similar expressions, are the jesuits reported to have inflamed the Tavora family to their desired pitch. Nor did they less shew their art, in uniting to their interests a rival of the Tavoras, by name the duke of Aveiro, who, notwithstanding some favours received, had been always a professed enemy to the king and his administration. Things thus prepared, several rumours and prophecies were spread abroad, that the king's life was not of long duration; and some even limited it to the month of September last, on the third day of which the assassination of the king was attempted. The persons concerned in it, were the duke of Aveiro, the marquis of Tavora, with his wife, and two sons; the count of Atouguia, his son in law; Joseph Romeiro, a corporal in one of the regiments belonging to the Tavora family, who were all in the army; Emanuel Alvarez Ferreira, Antonio Alvarez Ferreira, and Joseph Policarpio; the first valet de chambre of the duke of Aveiro,
and

and the two others relations of Emanuel Alvarez Ferreira. These, with John Miguel, the duke's footman, completed the number that were to attack the king. They determined to execute their design one night, as his majesty was returning from the young marchioness of Tavora, who was then at her country seat, some few miles out of Lisbon. This was the third of September. Accordingly, the duke of Aveiro, with his footman, John Miguel, posted themselves the first in the road, where the king was to pass, under a sort of arch; which has since, upon that account, been pulled down. Antonio Alvarez Ferreira, and Joseph Policarpio, were stationed a little below them, upon the same road. The duke's piece missed fire, as the king passed in his chaise. The postilion, who observed the sparks struck from the flint, spurred his mules to a full gallop. This rendered the aim of the other two, placed below the duke, very uncertain; but they did, at last, by galloping after the chaise,

chaife, fire through the back of it, and wounded the king, though not mortally. He would not, however, have escaped the remaining parties on the road, placed still lower, if he had not ordered his postilion, upon finding himself hurt, to go immediately to his surgeon general's house, by which means, as the road luckily turned off at that place, he escaped their ambuscade.

The king was no sooner passed, than the several parties reunited, uncertain of the effects of their attempt. Some affirmed that the king must have fallen; others were doubtful of their success. The next morning they heard the mortifying news of his majesty's being arrived at his palace and wounded only in the arm. Upon this they formed a sort of council of war, at which the old marchioness of Tavora was present, as she was at all their meetings. They here agreed upon there being no fear of a discovery, and that provided they remained true
to

to each other, mortal power could never fathom the secret. But the abilities of the present secretary of state, Sebastian Joseph de Carvalho, thwarted their hopes. Nor was he sorry, I believe, for the present opportunity of cutting off some noblemen, who, envious of so much power being conferred upon a simple gentleman, were continually opposing his advancement. He was formerly envoy from Portugal to the court of England, but recalled, it is said, by desire of our king. The Portuguese are thought to detest him, but suffer in silent indignation the favourite of their sovereign. By his advice the present affair was as much as possible stifled. Reports were immediately issued, that the king had been slightly wounded by robbers, on his return from the country. In the mean time no underhand means were neglected to discover the traitors, which by great art was at last imperfectly done. But when Sebastian Joseph found them of so high rank, not a little address

dress seemed still wanting to submit them to his power. He desired his royal master to behave towards them with the usual civility, whilst he collected in and near Lisbon the major part of the forces of the whole kingdom, under pretence of invasions from Spain, and other fictitious tumults. No sooner were they arrived, than guards were sent to the various houses of the criminals, who were all, with the major part of their relations, taken up in little more than the space of one hour. Sebastian Joseph now threw off the mask, and published a manifesto, ordering every person to declare what they knew concerning the present conspiracy, or they would be considered as equally culpable with the criminals themselves. An embargo was also laid upon the shipping, nor was any person permitted to go out of Lisbon, without a passport. This embargo caused some words between the commanding officer of three English men of war, then in the Tagus, and the secretary of state ;
but

but they at length got leave to depart with other English ships. I will conclude, by shewing you a little the style of this country, and sending you a translation of the latter edict, published by Carvalho, forbidding any person's departure from Lisbon without a passport. The former, obliging every Portuguese subject to give in information is much longer, but I may perhaps give it you in my next paper.

“ Royal Edict.

“ Our sovereign lord the king commands,
 “ that no person or persons whatsoever, be
 “ their condition or quality what it may,
 “ dare to depart from this court, or its adjacent district, either by sea or land, until
 “ fresh orders from us, without the said
 “ person or persons do first appear, and
 “ justify their departure in the presence of
 “ Doctor Stephen Peter de Carvalho Dimsbargador, inhabiting at Santa Marina;
 “ and appointed by his majesty to receive
 E “ the

50 L E T T E R S F R O M

“ the said justifications, as also to issue out
“ proper passports resulting from them ;
“ and this under penalty, that the person
“ or persons daring to depart without such
“ passports, shall be reconducted to Lisbon
“ at their own expence, besides being liable
“ to due punishment for disobedience to
“ the royal command,

“ N. B. These passports are only to re-
“ main in force for the space of four and
“ twenty hours.

“ Given at our palace at Bellem, Decem-
“ ber 13, 1758.

“ (Signed) *Sebastian Joseph de Carvalho.*”

L E T T E R S

L E T T E R XI.

LISBON, FEB. 7, 1759.

THE following is the royal manifesto or edict obliging every Portuguese subject to give due information.

“ Although the subjects of Portugal
 “ have for many ages been celebrated for
 “ the observation of that inviolable attach-
 “ ment due to their kings and natural
 “ sovereigns, cultivating with the greatest
 “ piety those holy and unalterable obliga-
 “ tions; yet have we, notwithstanding,
 “ been so unhappy in our days to find, that
 “ among the very natives of this kingdom,
 “ certain particular persons there are, who,
 “ forgetful of those ancient and noble exam-
 E 2 “ ples

“ ples, have with infernal idea dared to
 “ form a most sacrilegious and abominable
 “ conspiracy. It began with their suggest-
 “ ing and declaring underhand, in order to
 “ abuse the sincerity of those persons who
 “ were adorned with more pious inclina-
 “ tions, that our royal life was not to con-
 “ tinue long; uttering this in the tone of
 “ prophecies; nay, even limiting the time
 “ of our death to the following month of
 “ September. No sooner had the said con-
 “ spirators, by similar malicious rumours,
 “ disposed the minds of the people to their
 “ desires, than they proceeded to more atro-
 “ cious actions; and to verify their predic-
 “ tions by the never enough to be abhorred
 “ attack made upon our royal person, the
 “ third of the said month of September.
 “ We were passing, at eleven at night,
 “ through the little field, * in order to retire

* Called in Portuguese campo pequeno, in opposition to campo grande, or the great field, not far from it.

“ to

“ to our palace, when three of the afore-
 “ mentioned conspirators lying in wait on
 “ horseback, in the aforefaid place, under
 “ cover of the low houses thereunto adjoining,
 “ did with ever infamous and execrable
 “ treason, at the back of the chaise in
 “ which we were sitting, fire three pistols
 “ or blunderbusses, so deeply charged with
 “ flugs, that although one missed fire, yet
 “ the other two were sufficient, not only
 “ to make two round apertures of enormous
 “ bigness in the back of the chaise in
 “ which we were sitting, but even to break
 “ and tear away every thing they approached;
 “ so that mortal judgment cannot form
 “ idea how our royal person, when confined
 “ within so narrow a compass, could escape
 “ with only receiving many deep wounds,
 “ was not the whole to be attributed to that
 “ omnipotent hand, which by evident miracles
 “ preserved and defended us, amidst
 “ the ruins and horror of that dreadful
 “ attack. Now the sacred principles of all

“ laws, divine, natural and civil, being
“ most sacrilegiously offended by this action,
“ to the universal shame of religion and
“ humanity; these considerations render it
“ indispensibly necessary to avenge this
“ crime, especially, as the scandal is so
“ great from thence redounding upon the
“ loyalty of the Portuguese, whose excel-
“ lent sentiments of honor, love, and gra-
“ titude towards our royal person, would
“ never permit them to be at ease, without
“ the moral certainty, that this most execra-
“ ble conspiracy was torn up from its very
“ roots, so as not to leave among our faith-
“ ful subjects one of those monsters, who
“ dared to arrive at such a height of enor-
“ mous wickedness. We decree, therefore,
“ that all those persons, who shall manifest
“ unto us (provided they prove what they
“ declare,) any one or more of the traitors
“ concerned in this infamous conspiracy,
“ the said informers shall, if plebeians, be
“ immediately created gentlemen; if gen-
“ tlemen,

“ tlemen, shall have our letters patent for
 “ becoming fidalgo ; * or, if fidalgo,
 “ knight of some order, with all the privi-
 “ leges thereunto belonging ; in fine, be
 “ their rank what it will, we will grant
 “ unto them still higher titles and honors,
 “ over and above all which honors, the
 “ said informers shall enjoy many pecuniary
 “ advantages, as well as offices of justice,
 “ court places, and military preferments :
 “ reserving to ourself, and to our judgment,
 “ the regulation of these rewards, accord-
 “ ing to the nature and importance of the
 “ service administered. Nor shall the ac-
 “ complices of this abominable conspiracy,
 “ so not principally concerned, be exempt
 “ from the abovementioned favors, besides
 “ which, upon due confession and informa-
 “ tion, we here grant them our royal
 “ pardon. Our magistrates, likewise, who

* Or hidalgo in Spanish, is a rank in Spain and Portugal,
 which answers to that of our noblemens' sons.

“ shall apprehend such criminals, shall
“ have new honors and advancements due
“ to their services conferred upon them ;
“ enjoying moreover all the foregoing re-
“ wards, in case of their being also in-
“ formers ; for no person can nor ought to
“ conceal malefactors of so high a nature,
“ upon the false idea that the character
“ of an informer is disreputable. We here
“ advertise all our subjects, that reflexions
“ like these, though they may take place
“ in trivial affairs, are not only not to be
“ incurred by discovering actions of con-
“ spiracy and of high treason against the
“ supreme prince, but, on the contrary,
“ those who know any thing of such
“ crimes, and do not publish what they
“ know in proper time, incur the penalty
“ and the same dishonor with those crimi-
“ nals who are convicted of such facts.
“ Nor are fathers excusable in concealing
“ their children, or children their fathers,
“ as the prior obligations towards their
“ king

“ king and country, the common fathers of
 “ every subject, always prevail before the
 “ ties of birth ; especially in misdemeanors
 “ of so atrocious a nature, and so prejudi-
 “ cial to society. And for the easier appre-
 “ hending of the said criminals, it is our
 “ royal pleasure, that the power of all our
 “ magistrates within this kingdom be uni-
 “ versal, extending itself to every part of
 “ the kingdom ; and all being invested with
 “ a similar power, so as to be able to act
 “ from their own authority with regard to
 “ the speedy apprehending of criminals,
 “ without waiting for orders from the im-
 “ mediate magistrates of the crown. Nay,
 “ suspected persons may even be taken up
 “ by private men, provided they conduct
 “ them forthwith to the nearest magistrate,
 “ who, finding due cause of suspicion, shall
 “ send them properly secured to this court.
 “ The Doctor Pedro Gonçalvez Cordeiro
 “ Pereira of our council, and Disimbargador
 “ of the palace, shall cause this our decree
 “ to

58 L E T T E R S F R O M

“ to be affixed in all public places within
“ the city of Lisbon, and the districts ad-
“ joining; sending copies thereof, signed
“ with his name, to all the other towns
“ and cities of these kingdoms; and we
“ declare, that the said copies shall have
“ equal force and authority with their ori-
“ ginals, notwithstanding any law, disposi-
“ tion, or custom to the contrary, be they
“ even among the number of those to dero-
“ gate from which requires our express
“ command,

“ BELLEM, *December 9, 1758.*

“ Signed with his majesty’s seal.”

L E T-

L E T T E R XII.

LISBON, FEB. 10, 1759.

THE royal edict of which I gave you a translation in my former paper, was, according to the order, hung up in all conspicuous parts of the city, and soon after the Juez del Povo, or, as we might call him, the mayor of Lisbon, presented the following supplication to his majesty, through the hands of his secretary of state, to whom it was addressed.

“ The mayor of the city of Lisbon has
 “ the honor of begging your excellency
 “ to lay before the royal presence of his
 “ majesty, that his most just edict was with
 “ many tears read by all his faithful people
 “ of Lisbon, all of whom earnestly demand
 “ justice

“ justice against an attempt so nearly affect-
“ ing the loyalty of the Portuguese, and
“ for the avenging of which they with
“ impatience expect the royal orders. His
“ excellency is likewise desired to assure his
“ majesty, that it is the most fervent wish
“ of his loyal subjects to shed the very last
“ drop of their blood in the defence and
“ for the glory of their sovereign.”

Whilst these edicts and addresses were interchanging, the unhappy criminals were suffering various tortures in their respective prisons. It will be difficult for me to ascertain the names and exact number of the nobility that were now under arrest, and it will be sufficient to tell you, they were esteemed the flower of Portugal. They were all taken up, as I have before remarked, at the same time, and without the least stir made in their defence by the populace, who, though they might have entertained similar inclinations, were rendered incapable of putting

putting them in execution, by having been deprived of their arms. This was by order of the minister, and in consequence of it, every house had been searched by soldiers, and all weapons seized, particularly in gunsmith's shops, and other places where they were to be found in quantities. Gentlemen, however, and especially foreigners, were treated with more civility, and their word of honor that they had no arms was sufficient. They were promised to be returned in a few days, but I have not yet heard of its being done. As for the government's proceedings against the principal criminals, during their continuance in prison, it is difficult to get at the truth of them. Vulgar rumour loads them with chains, and stretches them upon racks; but I should think without better foundation than our natural propensity to imagine the worst of what we are ignorant. That they suffered tortures to enforce confession is, I believe, true; but I cannot think that human nature could

could grow so wanton in punishments as common report was represented ; nor that the duke of Aveiro was kept perpetually riveted to earth. Some, indeed, who were present at their execution affirmed that they had lost the use of their wrists, which might be true, without such horrid torments being used, as make nature shudder, and imagination fleet with hasty wing to happier climes.

But the government was so mysterious that we were not even certain there was to be an execution till the preceding evening ; when the erection of a scaffold sufficiently manifested that some person was to die in the morning ; but who were to be the victims remained equally unknown. In the morning of the 13th of January, before break of day, a large body of troops marched to the square of Bellem, the place where they had erected the scaffold. It consisted only of plain boards, not even covered with black cloth, a thing very uncommon when nobles are to die. It
was

was done to shew that they were degraded from their rank by the action they had committed ; and for the same reason the servants, &c. were put to death with their masters. Not long after sun-rise all was in readiness for the execution, of which I will now give you the best description in my power, from hearsay ; as I was not present, nor ever will at scenes of this nature. My ears, however, were unwilling auditors of every minute circumstance, as the world seems to have pleasure in the recital of unfortunate events. The first conducted upon the scaffold was the marchioness of Tavora, a lady who bore a great character in Lisbon for her good nature and gentility. She was beheaded, tho' not with an axe in our manner, but with a kind of long broad knife. She sat, or, I believe, was rather tied to a sort of stool, from behind which the executioner, with one stroke, separated her head from her body. This was the principal of what could be observed by the spectators, the nearest of whom were

were kept off above an hundred yards from the scaffold by the surrounding troops. Some people in ships might, indeed, be nearer, as one side of the square of Bellem is bounded by the Tagus. The knife glittered much, as the sun struck upon it, while the executioner was holding it behind the marchioness of Tavora. She was dead by eight o'clock—but we did not know who was to follow her. There was a report about this time that the guards, who patrolled the streets, permitted no person to approach the square of Bellem, but without foundation. No sooner was the marchioness executed, than they placed her corpse upon a sort of bench prepared upon the scaffold. They threw a black cloth over it. Her eldest son at length succeeded his unhappy mother in his death. His fate was more rigorous, as he was broken upon the wheel, or, to speak more properly, upon a sort of St. Andrew's Cross. He was tied to these two pieces of wood, and laid flat upon the ground, after which the executioner, with

with a large iron crow, formed at the end, in some measure, like a hammer, struck him nine blows, two upon each arm and leg, and one upon the breast, which was imagined to be given first. But for the truth of this we must give credit to the trial, and their sentences, which were published about three days afterwards; as none of the spectators were near enough to distinguish upon what part of the body the blows first fell, tho' most agree that the duke of Aveiro was, undoubtedly, broken alive. In this manner perished the second,—that young lady's husband with whom the king is reported to have had his intrigue. He is said to have been very apprehensive of death, as likewise the duke of Aveiro, whom, indeed, I ought not yet to mention, as he was executed the last but one. The third victim who appeared upon the scaffold, was the younger son of the marchioness of Tavora, who, tho' but a lad of eighteen years old, is said to have behaved the best of all. He knelt for some moments,

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before

before the corpse of his mother, and was afterwards executed in the same manner as his brother. Next came the father, who suffered the same punishment, tho' if we may believe the sentence, the *coup de grace* was given him the very last stroke. The Conde d' Atouguia died next. His lady is reported to have lost her senses, tho' the nuns of the convent where she is confined, had strict orders not to inform her of her unhappy husband's fate. But rumours only of what had happened, together with the complaints of her children, might well be sufficient to turn her brain. All the ladies whose husbands or relations were concerned in this affair are now confined in convents with their families. Each family have a particular monastery allotted them for a prison, without any communication being permitted with the rest. After the execution of the Conde d' Atouguia, Bras Joseph Romeiro, Juan Miguel, and Emanuel Alvarez Ferreira, all of low birth, were broken upon the same kind of
St.

St. Andrew's Cross. The ninth that suffered was the duke of Aveiro, who was broken alive. The bodies of the criminals, as soon as they expired, were laid upon an equal number of wheels prepared on purpose. These mournful instruments were nailed horizontally upon high poles, and covered with black cloth after their bodies were extended upon them, if I may use that expression, as one of the objects which principally struck the beholders, was the contracted mass in which they lay. Though the wheels were small, their mangled limbs did not reach beyond their circumference; but the black cloth hung perpendicularly down in the circle which they formed. The most terrible execution now approached, that of Antonio Alvarez Ferreira. He was sentenced to be burnt alive, together with Joseph Policarpio de Azevedo, the two persons who had wounded the king. Joseph Policarpio, however, had found means to fly the kingdom, tho' in what manner is uncertain. Some say

that returning on horseback to the duke of Aveiro's, the day that nobleman was arrested, —upon seeing his palace surrounded with guards, he galloped to the outskirts of the town, and there giving some money to a beggar to exchange clothes, passed in that manner through the Portuguese troops posted round Lisbon. But in whatever manner he escaped, he, undoubtedly, only suffered execution in effigy, whilst his companion, Antonio Alvarez Ferreira, was bound in reality to the stake. They girt him only with a chain about his middle. The fastening it to the stake took up some time, during which he seemed to behave with great resolution, as he did likewise while they were surrounding him with rosin, pitch, tar, and other combustible materials. They laid the same also round the other executed bodies, which were all by the sentence to be reduced to ashes, and thrown into the sea. After these preparations, the mangled carcases of the antecedent sufferers were uncovered, and the poor remaining criminal

minal had the whole melancholy scene displayed to his view. They then set on fire in various parts the entire scaffolding. It is reported, however, that the pitch was so badly laid about the unhappy sufferer, that it was long before the flames, interrupted by a contrary wind, reached him ; and that he was seen for some time to wreath about, and even his shrieks were said to have been heard by many. As soon as the pile, bodies and all, were consumed, tho' not so perfectly as they ought to have been ; the ashes were carried away in baskets, and thrown into the Tagus, which, perhaps, at Bellem may almost deserve the name of an arm of the sea. After this they covered the place of execution with some new mould, and tho' I was upon the very spot the next morning, I could hardly distinguish any difference between that and the adjacent ground. Thus finished this fatal day, long to be remembered in the annals of Portugal.

L E T T E R XIII.

LISBON, FEB. 13, 1759.

I WILL now give you a translation of what the court published immediately after the execution you have had so terrible an account of in my foregoing paper. I shall then tell you what we know concerning the jeffuits, to all whose convents Sebastian Joseph put a guard of soldiers at the same time that he caused the nobles to be arrested. But what I am going to send a translation of, will take up some room, without I can contrive to abridge it, which I will endeavour to do.

“ The council and disimbargador of our
“ soveraign lord the king, agree, &c. and
“ have, by force of law and decree of his
“ majesty, after consulting all depositions,
“ papers,

“ papers, allegations, articles, and defences
 “ condemned the following persons; viz.
 “ Joseph Mascarenias, who was duke of
 “ Aveiro; Donna Leonoro de Tavora, who
 “ was marchioness of the same title; Fran-
 “ cis de Affis de Tavora, who was marquis
 “ of the same title; Don Lewis Bernar-
 “ do de Tavora, his son, who was likewise
 “ marquis of the same title; Don Jerony-
 “ mo de Ataide, who was count of Atou-
 “ guia; Joseph Maria de Tavora, aid de
 “ camp to his father the late marquis; Brás
 “ Joseph Romeiro, lately corporal of the
 “ company which belonged to Lewis Ber-
 “ nardo de Tavora, the criminal; Antonio
 “ Alvarez Ferreira, Joseph Policarpio de
 “ Azevedo, Emanuel Alvarez Ferreira, valet
 “ de chambre to the criminal Joseph Mas-
 “ carenias, and John Miguel, footman to the
 “ said criminal.

“ For first,

“ It is proved, partly by the confession of
“ most of the criminals, and partly by eye
“ witnesses agreeing with the former, that
“ Joseph Mascarenias, late duke of Aveiro,
“ had conceived a mortal hatred against
“ the king, because his majesty had frustra-
“ ted his designs of getting into his own
“ hands all influence in the government, a
“ thing which he enjoyed in the late reign
“ by means of the Friar Gaspar da Encar-
“ nação, his uncle. He had also been
“ hindered by the august and sacred person
“ of our sovereign lord the king from mak-
“ ing several chaces and commendaries
“ hereditary in his family, which he was
“ to enjoy only for life, as well as from
“ marrying his son, the marquis of Gouvea,
“ to Donna Margherita de Lorena, next
“ sister and immediate heiress to the present
“ duke of Cadaval; by which marriage he
“ hoped to unite the riches of the house of
“ Cadaval to his own; the present duke not
“ having

“ having yet had the small pox, which is
 “ fatal in that family, besides his being a
 “ minor, and yet unmarried; from enter-
 “ ing into which marriage state Joseph
 “ Mascarenias endeavoured to hinder him
 “ by encouraging law suits against him, in
 “ order to put his revenues into such con-
 “ fusion, that he might not be able to bear
 “ the expences which attend marriage in
 “ persons of his condition.

“ 2dly, It is proved that the said Joseph
 “ Mascarenias laboured to get into his party
 “ all malecontents, and other persons that
 “ were out of favor, and by his calumnies
 “ and hatred against his majesty still in-
 “ creased their disaffection; exhorting them
 “ to fly from and abhor the king's service,
 “ setting them the example of it, and say-
 “ ing oftentimes, that when an order came
 “ for him to go to court, it was the same as
 “ if an order was sent him to cut off his
 “ legs; nay, his rash presumption hurried
 “ him

“ him to such lengths, that he flattered
“ himself, and with pleasure hearkened to
“ people who told him that he had no farther
“ to rise than to the throne,

“ 3dly, It is proved, moreover, that
“ whereas the said Joseph Mascarenias had
“ always an irreconcilable aversion to
“ the jesuits, during the administration of
“ his uncle Friar Gaspar da Encarnaçon,
“ and also after his death; yet upon their
“ being forbidden the palace for their behaviour
“ in the Indies, he was suddenly
“ reconciled to them, visiting them frequently
“ in all their convents, receiving
“ their visits, and holding long conferences
“ with them in his house; ordering his
“ servants to bring him word directly when
“ they came, and recommending also to his
“ people an extraordinary secrecy upon the
“ subject of these reciprocal conferences.

“ 4thly,

“ 4thly, It is proved, that the conse-
 “ quences of this reconciliation with the
 “ jesuits, were, first, that they also decla-
 “ red themselves enemies to the king and
 “ his government; secondly, that they una-
 “ nimously agreed, at the conferences held
 “ at St. Anthony’s and St. Rock’s, and in
 “ Joseph Mascarenias’s house, that the only
 “ means of changing the government was to
 “ contrive the death of the king, treating
 “ this project as the common cause, the je-
 “ suits assuring the prisoner, that there was
 “ no fear of his suffering for this attempt, as,
 “ when the king was once dead, all would
 “ be soon hushed up, and giving it as their
 “ opinion, that the murder of the king would
 “ not be even a *venial* sin, with other maxims
 “ of the same nature, which would be too
 “ offensive to pious ears, were they to be
 “ mentioned. All this shocking doctrine
 “ being maintained in repeated meetings of
 “ this prisoner, the jesuits and other ac-
 “ complices of the conspiracy.

“ 5thly,

“ 5thly, It is proved, that the said pri-
“ soner and the jesuits got into their plot
“ Leonora de Tavora, late marchioness of
“ the same title; and this, notwithstanding
“ her old and settled aversion from Joseph
“ Mascarenias, arising from difference of hu-
“ mours; opposition of interest, and a kind
“ of rivalry in pride and ambition: But,
“ although their reciprocal aversion was
“ increased by his endeavouring to deprive
“ her husband, Francisco de Affis de Tavora,
“ of the estate of Magaride, and of the
“ free lands of his family during his absence
“ in the Indies; yet, notwithstanding all
“ this, the malice of the jesuits, and the
“ malignity of this criminal were of
“ force sufficient to induce the said Leo-
“ nora de Tavora to enter into this infamous
“ conspiracy.

“ 6thly, It is proved that the late mar-
“ chioness being entered into the plot, both
“ she and the jesuits labored to persuade all
“ their

“ their friends that Gabriel Malagrida the
 “ jesuit was a saint. In consequence of
 “ which the late marchioness performed her
 “ spiritual exercises under his direction, and
 “ made a show of following all his councils,
 “ causing thereby the following pernicious
 “ evils : 1st, that her house became a daily
 “ assembly of murmurers against the king ;
 “ 2dly, that the common conversation in
 “ her house was of treasons and plots against
 “ the king ; many schemes being contrived
 “ for executing the desired assassination ;
 “ 3dly, that the marchioness embraced a
 “ conformity of detestable sentiments with
 “ Joseph Mascarenias ; making agreements
 “ at the said late duke’s house for killing
 “ the king ; 4thly, that the marchioness en-
 “ tered into a confederacy, not only with
 “ her constant director Malagrida, but also
 “ with the jesuits John de Matos, John
 “ Alexander, and others ; 5thly, that she
 “ made herself one of the three chiefs of
 “ this conspiracy, and got into it by her
 “ authority

“ authority and artifice, and the methods
“ before mentioned, all those persons she
“ could impose upon ; 6thly, that she asso-
“ ciated herself to the perpetrators of the
“ affassination of the third of September,
“ by giving sixteen moidores, as part of
“ their reward, to those infamous and de-
“ testable monsters, who, in that fatal
“ night, did the sacrilegious deed, for which
“ we all now weep.

“ 7thly, It is proved, that as she had
“ gained a despotic ascendant over her hus-
“ band, sons, daughters, and son in law ;
“ she got into the plot, and engaged in the
“ affassination her husband, sons, son in law,
“ brothers in law, and friends, using as an
“ instrument so to do, not only the opinion
“ she had attempted to spread of Malagrida’s
“ sanctity, but also certain letters Malagri-
“ da used to write to her, desiring her to
“ induce all her relations to come to Setuval
“ to

“ to make their spiritual exercises under his
 “ direction.

“ 8thly, The first that was drawn into
 “ this horrid plot was Francisco de Assis de
 “ Tavora, late marquis of the same name,
 “ deluded by these chiefs of the conspiracy,
 “ his wife, the late duke of Aveiro, and
 “ the jesuits. He mixed in all their confer-
 “ ences in the before mentioned places, and
 “ gave twelve moidores to the late duke, as
 “ his quota of the reward to the assassins.
 “ In particular, it is proved that he was in
 “ one of the parties posted in the fields to
 “ kill the king; that after the assassination
 “ he was seen in the field behind the late
 “ duke’s garden, talking with the other ac-
 “ complices of the assassination, and was
 “ present next morning at the meeting in the
 “ said garden, where some found fault with
 “ the assassins for not doing their work ef-
 “ fectually, and the late marquis and others
 “ boasted, that the king should not have ef-
 “ caped

“ caped them, had he passed by the
“ place where they were posted:

“ 9thly, The second drawn into this con-
“ spiracy, by the same persons and the same
“ means, was the late marquis Louis Ber-
“ nardo de Tavora. Against him it is proved,
“ that he was present at all the aforesaid
“ conferences, and offered arms and horses to
“ execute the assassination, two days before
“ which he sent two horses secretly, with all
“ their furniture, to the late duke's stables.
“ Moreover, upon the fatal day, September
“ the third in the evening, he was shut up
“ in private conference with his father and
“ brother Joseph Maria de Tavora, contrary
“ to his custom, after which he was in one
“ of the parties posted to kill the king; and
“ next morning at the before mentioned
“ meeting of the conspirators at the late
“ duke's house.

10thly, The

10thly, The third drawn into the plot
 by the same means and same persons, was
 the late count of Atouguia, son in law to
 the late marquis and marchioness of Tavo-
 ra. It is proved, that he, with his wife,
 were present every night at the before
 mentioned conferences, and that he gave
 eight moidores to the assassins, as his quota
 of their reward; that he was in one of the
 parties posted to kill the king, and that
 he and his wife were present the next
 morning at the late duke of Aveiro's.

11thly, The fourth drawn into the plot,
 by the same means and same persons, was
 Joseph Maria de Tavora, aid de camp to
 his father, the late marquis of Tavora. It
 is proved against this unhappy youth, that
 he was in one of the parties posted to kill
 the king; and that after the horrid at-
 tempt was made he assisted at the council
 of the accomplices holden upon the spot,
 on the north side of the late duke of Avei-

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“ ro's

“ ro’s garden, near the pallisades which you
“ must pass to enter his house. He was
“ moreover at the meeting next morning,
“ and upon their talking of the miraculous
“ manner in which the king’s life was pre-
“ served ; he pronounced the following bar-
“ barous and sacrilegious words : “ For my
“ part, he should not have escaped me.”

“ 12thly, The fifth person concerned
“ was Bras Joseph Romeiro, by whose con-
“ fession it appears, that he had lived with
“ the late marquis of Tavora from the year
“ 1749, had accompanied him when he
“ went viceroy to the Indies, and after his
“ return had served the young marquis, his
“ eldest son, being a corporal in his compa-
“ ny, clerk of his kitchen, and a great fa-
“ vourite. It appears moreover, by his con-
“ fession, that the late young marquis had
“ told him what had passed in their meet-
“ ing, the evening before the assassination ;
“ that both the late marquisses, father and
“ son,

“ son, ordered him to lead the horses they
 “ had prepared, to the place where their
 “ most execrable crime was to be perpetrated.
 “ That he was to adjust the different parties,
 “ and that he placed himself in one of them
 “ together with the late marquis of Tavora,
 “ the father ; and that he was in the extem-
 “ porary council holden to the north side of
 “ the late duke’s garden.

“ 13thly, The sixth and seventh drawn
 “ into this conspiracy, by Joseph Mascare-
 “ nias (heretofore duke of Aveiro) were An-
 “ tonio Alvarez Ferreira, who was formerly
 “ valet de chambre to the said Joseph Mas-
 “ carenias, and Joseph Policarpio de Azeve-
 “ do, brother in law to Antonio Alvarez
 “ Ferreira. It is fully proved, that Joseph
 “ Mascarenias sent his present valet de
 “ chambre, Emanuel Alvarez Ferreira, to
 “ call Antonio Alvarez Ferreira his bro-
 “ ther ; to which latter he opened the affair
 “ in a hut behind his house at Bellem, with
 “ great charges of secrecy, ordering him to

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“ way-

“ way-lay the king’s chaise, and fire at it
“ jointly with him. But Joseph Mascaren-
“ nias and Antonio Alvarez Ferreira after-
“ wards agreed, that he, the said Antonio,
“ should speak to his brother in law Joseph
“ Policarpio to be their accomplice. In ef-
“ fect he spoke to this said Joseph Policarpio,
“ and both of them settled and concerted af-
“ fairs with Joseph Mascarenias, with whom
“ they frequently went both on foot and
“ horseback, in order that he might shew them
“ and make them know the king’s chaise. He
“ also ordered them to buy two unknown
“ horses, which Antonio Alvarez Ferreira
“ bought, one of Lewis de Horta, who lives in
“ the Patio do Socorro, for four moidores; the
“ other of a gipsy, called Emanuel Soares,
“ who lives in Meravilla, for four moidores
“ and a half. The said Joseph Mascarenias
“ also ordered them to buy unknown arms,
“ but Antonio Alvarez Ferreira did not buy
“ them, for he and his brother in law made
“ use of a blunderbuss of his own, and ano-
“ ther

“ ther that he borrowed, and two pistols
 “ which he borrowed, under pretence of
 “ trying them, of a foreigner, that lives in
 “ the house of the count of Unhaon, and
 “ soon after the attempt restored them.
 “ These were the arms with which Antonio
 “ Alvarez Ferreira and Joseph Policarpio
 “ fired at the king’s chaise. The reward
 “ which these two assassins received for their
 “ bloody work, from Joseph Mascarenias,
 “ was forty moidores, sixteen at one time,
 “ four at another, and twenty at another.
 “ Immediately after having fired at the
 “ king’s chaise, they ran over the fields till
 “ they got to the paved road without the
 “ Quinta de Meyo, which road they soon
 “ left, to turn up the lane of the Guarda-
 “ mor da Saude, and so retired to Lisbon.
 “ Two days after Antonio Alvarez Ferreira
 “ went to the late duke’s house, who had
 “ sent for him, and who told him peevishly,
 “ that his fire was good for nothing, add-
 “ ing, moreover, with his finger laid upon

“ his mouth, and much at his ease, “ that
“ the devil himself could not know what
“ they had done, if he did not discover it ;”
“ and he told him not to sell the horses im-
“ mediately, to avoid suspicion. So that
“ Antonio Alvarez Ferreira, and Joseph Po-
“ licarpio, his brother in law, were, un-
“ doubtedly, those horrid monsters that dis-
“ charged the pieces, which wounded the
“ sacred person of his majesty.

“ 14thly, It is proved, that the eighth
“ person drawn into this conspiracy by Jo-
“ seph Mascarenias, was Emanuel Alvarez
“ Ferreira, who often went to tell his bro-
“ ther Antonio Alvarez Ferreira, the assas-
“ sin, to come to the said Joseph Mascare-
“ nias. This person got the cloak and wig
“ in which Joseph Mascarenias was disguis-
“ ed the night of the assassination. More-
“ over he concealed the certain knowledge
“ he had from his brother of the conspi-
“ racy three or four days after the fact
“ was

“ was committed, till he was apprehended.
 “ It was he too that in the Quinta* de Azei-
 “ taon drew his sword against the magistrate
 “ Lewis Antonio de Leiro, as he was
 “ with no less honor than resolution at-
 “ tempting to stop the flight of Joseph Mas-
 “ carenias,

“ 15th, It is proved, that the ninth as-
 “ sociate, led into this plot by the before
 “ mentioned chiefs, was John Miguel, foot-
 “ man and confidant of Joseph Mascarenias.
 “ It was known, that one of the name of
 “ John was with Joseph Mascarenias at the
 “ time of the assassination; and it appears,
 “ by his master's own declaration, that
 “ it was John Miguel, who was with him
 “ under the arch when he the said Joseph
 “ Mascarenias took aim against the king's
 “ postilion, and drew the trigger, but his
 “ piece missed fire.

* Quinta is a villa, or country house.

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“ 16thly,

“ 16thly, It is proved, that the three fore-
“ mentioned chiefs of this conspiracy execut-
“ ed the same by the assistance of all these
“ confederates in the following manner.”

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L E T T E R XIV.

LISBON, FEB. 16, 1759.

“ 17thly, **I**T is proved, that after the
 “ two chiefs of this horrid conspiracy,
 “ Joseph Mascarenias and Leonora de Ta-
 “ vora, had raised the never enough to be
 “ detested collection, to the making up of
 “ which the above mentioned accomplices
 “ contributed, so that in all they raised the
 “ trifling sum of 192 millrees” (30 pieces of
 “ 36 shillings, or 40 moidores), “ which was
 “ given as their reward to the two barbarous
 “ assassins, Antonio Alvarez Ferreira and Jo-
 “ seph Policarpio ; and after that Louis Ber-
 “ nardo de Tavora had sent his two horses
 “ with their furniture to the stables of Jo-
 “ seph Mascarenias the same night of the
 “ assassination, to which same stables Fran-
 “ cis

“ cis de Affis de Tavora likewise sent three
“ other horses, which were left there by
“ his postilion and Bras Joseph Romeiro
“ the corporal ; and after that the before
“ mentioned Joseph Mascarenias, the same
“ night of the assassination, had likewise
“ prepared, and sent into the fields lying
“ behind the wood-built house of Antonio
“ Joseph de Matos his secretary, the other
“ horses necessary, which were taken from
“ his own stables, and called Serra and
“ Guardamor, with two other unmarked
“ horses” (the horses of blood in these coun-
tries are always marked upon one haunch)
“ called Palhavan and Coimbra, which with
“ the horses bought by the two assassins,
“ Antonio Alvarez Ferreira and Joseph Po-
“ licarpio, made up the number of eleven ;
“ after all these things the eleven copartners
“ of this horrid impiety went and mount-
“ ed them, placing themselves in differ-
“ ent ambuscades along that little space of
“ ground which lies between the north end
“ of

“ of the Quinta de Meyo, and the south
 “ end of the Quinta de Cim, by which the
 “ king usually returns home when he has
 “ been out in private.

“ 18thly, It is proved, that just as the
 “ king had turned the corner of the north
 “ wall of the Quinta de Meyo, as soon as
 “ ever he was come from under the arch
 “ which stood in that place,” (it is now pul-
 led down as having given shelter to so atro-
 cious a deed) “ the said chief of the conspi-
 “ racy Joseph Mascarenias, who was in com-
 “ pany with his servant and confident John
 “ Miguel, and another of the criminals, ad-
 “ vanced a little forwards, and shot off his pis-
 “ tol or blunderbuss, taking aim at Custodio
 “ da Costa the postilion, who was driving his
 “ majesty, but his piece missed fire. The
 “ postilion hearing the noise of the trigger’s
 “ going down, and seeing the sparks fly from
 “ the flint, without saying any thing to the
 “ king, galloped on with his mules as fast
 “ as

92 L E T T E R S F R O M

“ as ever he could in order to avoid a second
 “ fire, as he saw the former attempt was
 “ aimed at his life. Now Joseph Mascare-
 “ nias’s piece missing fire was the first mira-
 “ cle which divine Omnipotence operated in
 “ favor of these realms ; for had the postil-
 “ lion been killed, the life of his most
 “ sacred majesty would have been in the
 “ power of those horrid monsters then in
 “ arms, and in ambuscades so closely set
 “ against his august person and most pre-
 “ cious life,

“ 19thly, It is proved, that upon account
 “ of the postilion’s going so very fast, the
 “ two barbarous assassins, Antonio Alvarez
 “ Ferreira and Joseph Policarpio, who were
 “ standing a little way below Joseph Mas-
 “ carenias, at the end of the new wall,
 “ could not take so good aim as they wished
 “ at the chaise, and were obliged to follow
 “ it on full gallop, in order to fire off their
 “ pieces

“ pieces as well as they could against the
 “ back of it. It was by these two never
 “ enough to be detested parricides that the
 “ august person of his majesty was wounded
 “ quite from his shoulder down his arm to
 “ the elbow, both on the inside and out,
 “ besides a great deal of flesh being carried
 “ away ; nay, his breast was even torn, and
 “ a number of shot were afterwards ex-
 “ tracted from it. For, to shew the cruelty
 “ of these assassins, instead of charging
 “ their pieces with balls, they filled them
 “ with very large shot, to render their fa-
 “ vage and never sufficiently to be abhorred
 “ design more certain. This was the second
 “ miracle which divine Omnipotence operated
 “ in that fatal night, to the common benefit
 “ and advantage of these kingdoms. For
 “ in the common course of things it is not to
 “ be conceived how two such charges should
 “ pass through a small chaise without de-
 “ stroying the persons who were in it.

“ 20th,

94 L E T T E R S F R O M

“ 20th, The king, to avoid the three de-
 “ lays, of going to the palace, sending for
 “ the surgeon, and then the delay of his
 “ coming, ordered the postilion to turn about
 “ and drive directly to his surgeon general’s
 “ house, by which means his majesty, thro’
 “ an extraordinary providence, escaped the
 “ other parties that were laid in wait for
 “ him.

“ 21st, It is proved, that Joseph Mascarenias
 “ and the rest that were lying in wait for the
 “ king, retired immediately by private paths
 “ to the road that passes by the north end
 “ of his garden, boasting among themselves
 “ of what they had done; and the late
 “ duke beating his blunderbuss against a
 “ stone, and saying, “ the devil take you,
 “ when I want you most, you do me no
 “ service !” And when Francis de Affis, the
 “ late marquis of Tavora, expressed a doubt
 “ whether the king was killed or no, the
 “ late duke replied, “ it does not signify, if
 “ he

PORTUGAL, SPAIN, &c. 95

“ he is not dead, die he shall.” Another
“ answered, our point is to find him from
“ home, &c. Joseph Maria de Tavora also
“ very much at his own ease inquired for
“ John Miguel, and why he was not come
“ up, which he did a very little time after.
“ The next day the infatuated council of
“ the accomplices met at the late duke of
“ Aveiro’s house, in which some boasted of
“ what they had done; others accused the
“ assassins of bungling; others said that the
“ king should not have escaped them, had
“ he gone on the usual road, and not turned
“ back down the paved road of the Ajuda,
“ towards the Junquicra.

“ 22d, Although all the foregoing cir-
“ cumstances had not been fully proved, as
“ many of them rarely are in cases of the
“ like nature, tho’ in this affair by a fresh
“ and evident miracle the horrid impieties
“ of each criminal are fully verified; yet,
“ even without such ample proofs, certain
“ pre-

“ presumptions of the laws would have
 “ been sufficient for the condemnation of
 “ the criminals; of which presumptions
 “ there are many to be made against the
 “ chiefs of this conspiracy, and especially
 “ against the jesuits, and the heretofore
 “ duke of Aveiro.

“ 23d, It is presumed, in confirmation of
 “ what we have laid down in the foregoing
 “ articles, that he who has once been bad,
 “ will always be bad in the same kind of
 “ wickedness as that he before committed.
 “ Now not only once, but many have been
 “ the iniquities that these two chiefs of the
 “ conspiracy, the jesuits and Joseph Mascarenias, have plotted against the government
 “ of our sovereign lord the king, by a series
 “ of facts from the very beginning of his
 “ reign.

“ 24th, Moreover with regard to the jesuits, as they saw, by reason of the great
 “ supe-

“ superiority of sense and discernment in
 “ our present sovereign, that it was impossi-
 “ ble for them to preserve in this court the
 “ despotism to which they pretended, and
 “ knowing also that without this absolute
 “ power there were no means of covering
 “ their usurpations in Portuguese Asia, Afri-
 “ ca, and America, much less of palliating
 “ the war that they had kindled by a formal
 “ rebellion in the northern and southern
 “ parts of the Brazils; seeing this, they
 “ contrived against the reputation of his ma-
 “ jesty and the public repose of these king-
 “ doms the most calumnious and detestable
 “ suggestions and intrigues ever known, to
 “ alienate, by these means, from their
 “ affection to his majesty as well natives as
 “ foreigners, and have several times at-
 “ tempted divers execrable projects in order
 “ to excite sedition, and bring the scourge
 “ of war upon these realms. From all
 “ which it is concluded that the jesuits hav-
 “ ing committed these impieties against the
 H “ king

“ king and his kingdoms, fall exactly under
“ the beforementioned rule and presumption
“ of law, that he who has been once bad
“ will always remain so, in the same kind
“ of wickedness ; and even if the principal
“ proofs were wanting, they would always
“ be presumed to have contrived the assassi-
“ nation, till they can shew others against
“ whom there are equal presumptions.

“ 25th, The law moreover presumes, that
“ no person would commit a crime, with-
“ out having a great interest in the com-
“ mission of it. It is moreover presumed,
“ that he who has the greatest interest in a
“ crime is the author of it, till he can shew
“ who was the author, or justify himself.
“ Now the jesuits having, as we have be-
“ fore said, the greatest interest in this con-
“ spiracy, in order to change the present
“ government, by depriving the king of his
“ life, this bare presumption of law would
“ be sufficient to repute them guilty of this
“ execrable

“ execrable treason, without they can justify
 “ themselves.

“ 26th, But all the proofs and presump-
 “ tions here laid down are most exceedingly
 “ strengthened, when it is considered, that
 “ while the king was disconcerting the be-
 “ fore mentioned plots of the jesuits, and
 “ dismissing the confessors he had of that
 “ order, and forbidding them to enter the
 “ palace, during all these proceedings, in-
 “ stead of humbling themselves upon ac-
 “ count of so many restrictions, on the
 “ contrary their arrogance visibly increased,
 “ boasting publicly, that their being forbid-
 “ den the court signified little while noble-
 “ men sought them in their cloysters, and
 “ that the avenging hand of Heaven hung
 “ heavy over the former, suggesting that the
 “ life of his majesty would be short, and
 “ spreading about rumours by means of all
 “ their followers, that he would not live to
 “ the end of the month of August, writing

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“ the

“ the same in frequent letters to different
“ parts of the globe, nay, even adding that
“ September was at farthest to be the fatal
“ month in which the precious life of his
“ majesty was to end. Gabriel Malagrida
“ in particular wrote similar prognostications
“ in the tone of prophecies to several people
“ of this court. However they entirely al-
“ tered their manner of speaking and writ-
“ ing, upon the nobles being arrested, which
“ was in the morning of the thirteenth of
“ December last. The following post day
“ for Italy, the nineteenth of the same
“ month, the provincial father John Hen-
“ riques wrote to Rome, as well as others
“ of the said order, who instead of haughty
“ terms, and prophecies of death and re-
“ venge, which were so frequent in their
“ mouths before, in this post made use
“ of much more submissive expressions, tel-
“ ling their friends that the marquisses of
“ Tavora, the duke of Aveiro, the marquis
“ of Alorna, the count of Atouguia, and
“ others,

“ others, had been taken up on account of
 “ the king’s being shot at on the third of
 “ September, adding, that soldiers were
 “ placed at all their convents, and begging
 “ their brethren in Rome to recommend
 “ them to Heaven, of whose assistance they
 “ stood in need, as not being able to resist
 “ the storm which they feared was going to
 “ break upon their heads. That all their
 “ brotherhood was very much afflicted, and
 “ recurred for comfort to the spiritual exer-
 “ cises of father Malagrida. That the
 “ world esteemed them as accomplices of
 “ the fatal attack of the third of September,
 “ and had already condemned them in their
 “ own imaginations either to be imprisoned,
 “ or exterminated and totally expelled the
 “ court and kingdom. That they were in
 “ the greatest streights, and reduced to the
 “ greatest calamities, full of fears and an-
 “ xieties, without any comfort or hope of
 “ being relieved from them, &c. Now this
 “ contradictory behaviour of the jesuits be-

“ fore and after the shooting of the king
 “ is a *clear demonstration* that before the said
 “ attack they had confidence in their con-
 “ spiracy, and therefore spoke and wrote
 “ with so much pride and spiritual arrogance,
 “ issuing out their horrible and sacrilegious
 “ prophecies. But after the seizure of the
 “ nobles on the thirteenth of December,
 “ and the guards being set at their convents,
 “ seeing themselves discovered, and those
 “ they had stirred up to be their accom-
 “ plices lost, and upon the verge of being
 “ punished, they fell, with all their chime-
 “ rical ideas of greatness, into that lowness
 “ of spirits which is the constant attendant
 “ upon the being guilty of a crime without
 “ knowing how to cover it.

27th, (The foregoing presumptions of
 law are produced against the duke of Aveiro,
 after which my author goes on thus:) “ But
 “ he fell from that height of pride and arro-
 “ gance as soon as he found the conspiracy
 “ had

“ had failed ; and not having resolution
 “ enough to appear at court, he retired to
 “ the Quinta de Arataon, where he was
 “ taken, after having first attempted to save
 “ himself by flight, and afterwards by a
 “ vain resistance.

“ 28th, The same presumptions hold
 “ good, likewise, with regard to Donna
 “ Leonora de Tavora, heretofore marchioness
 “ of that title, and the third principal in
 “ this horrid conspiracy. Her proud spirit
 “ and insatiable ambition were notorious.
 “ She was of a more daring and intrepid
 “ disposition than was ever seen in persons
 “ of her sex, and therefore capable of incit-
 “ ing and undertaking the most desperate
 “ attempts. Hurried away by her blind,
 “ tho’ ardent passions, she and her husband
 “ supplicated the king to give them some
 “ dukedom, tho’ the insignificant services
 “ they had done to his majesty had been

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“ amply

“ amply recompensed by sending the late
“ marquis viceroy to India ; for an example
“ is not to be found in all the annals of this
“ kingdom, of the title of duke being ever
“ given for services of much greater consequence,
“ as were those of many and very
“ great heroes, who have adorned the history of
“ Portugal by their illustrious deeds. These
“ two criminals were, moreover, always
“ persecuting the secretary of state in a
“ public manner, without regard or shame,
“ to grant the aforesaid title, to which they
“ had so absolutely insignificant pretensions;
“ yet they continued to demand it as a debt
“ that was by justice due to them, which
“ obliged the secretary to check their importunate
“ entreaties and reasonings, by
“ telling them in a civil and honorable
“ manner, that there was no precedent of
“ any such title being conferred for such
“ kind of services. It was this necessary
“ truth that first hurried the marchioness
“ into

“ into her alliance with the duke of Aveiro,
 “ hoping by his means, after the death of
 “ the king, to be able to enjoy that title she
 “ so much desired, and which she so much
 “ envied him. And it is manifest to every
 “ person, that all this pride, haughtiness and
 “ ambition with which she behaved, before
 “ the horrid action of the third of September,
 “ fell into that langour and confusion
 “ which attends a guilty conscience when
 “ the crime is discovered.

“ 29th, All the above mentioned proofs
 “ having been thoroughly examined, his
 “ majesty in conjunction with his council,
 “ to whom he has for that end given a
 “ larger jurisdiction and authority, in order
 “ that they may be able to inflict punishments
 “ in some measure adequate to the
 “ execrable and scandalous crimes of the
 “ before mentioned infamous and sacrile-
 “ gious criminals, decree——.

Then

Then follows the sentence, which I will give you in my next paper, and if I can shorten it a little I will, tho' I am desirous you should see the whole form and ceremony of our proceedings in this country. I will make no remarks upon the presumptions of law alledged towards the latter end of this paper, as you will be better able to do it than myself.

LET.

L E T T E R X V .

LISBON, FEB. 20, 1759.

“ **W**E sentence the criminal Joseph Mascarenias, late duke of Aveiro, who has been already outlawed, and deprived of all the honors of a Portuguese and vassal to his majesty, degraded from the order of St. Jago, and delivered over to the court and the arm of secular justice here administered, as one of the three chiefs or principal authors of this infamous conspiracy, as well as of the horrid assault which was the effect of it; we, therefore, sentence him to be conducted publicly with a halter about his neck to the square of the key or mole of Bellem, and there, upon a high scaffold for that purpose to be erected, in order that his punishment may be in view of the whole people, so much
“ offended

“ offended by the scandal of his most inju-
“ rious crimes, shall he be racked alive, by
“ breaking the bones of his legs and arms
“ both great and small, to the number of
“ eight ; after which he shall be exposed
“ upon a wheel for the satisfaction of the
“ present and future subjects of these king-
“ doms, which being done the aforesaid cri-
“ minal shall be burnt alive, together with
“ the scaffold upon which he was executed,
“ till the whole shall by fire be reduced to
“ dust and ashes, which shall be thrown into
“ the sea, in order that of him and his
“ memory no traces may be left. More-
“ over all his estates real and personal are
“ confiscated, his coat of arms is to be
“ beaten down or erased wherever it is
“ found, his name to be cancelled where-
“ ever it is written, all his houses and other
“ edifices to be demolished and razed to the
“ ground, so as not to have the least mark
“ of them left, but the places are to be re-
“ duced

“ duced into fields, and falt scattered upon
 “ the spot where they stood.

“ We sentence the criminal Francis de
 “ Affis de Tavora, late marquis of the same
 “ title, chief also of the conspiracy, into
 “ which he was drawn by the persuasions
 “ of his wife, to the like punishment with
 “ Joseph Mascarenias, having been pre-
 “ viously in the same manner outlawed and
 “ deprived of the honors of a Portuguese.
 “ We too, having reflected, with the seri-
 “ ousness and circumspection necessary in
 “ affairs of this nature, that the said crimi-
 “ nal and his wife were not only personal
 “ actors in this horrible conspiracy, treason
 “ and parricide, but by their artifices made
 “ the enormous crime common to the rest
 “ of their family, arriving therein at their
 “ aim, and perverting the greatest part of
 “ their said family to their wicked in-
 “ tentions; and boasting with idle and
 “ overbearing vanity, that their union alone
 “ would

“ would be sufficient to effect their diabolical
 “ machinations, decree, that no person, of
 “ whatever state or condition, shall after
 “ the publication of this sentence dare to use
 “ the surname of Tavora, under pain of all
 “ his goods being confiscated, and himself
 “ outlawed and banished from the king-
 “ doms and dominions of Portugal, thereby
 “ losing all the privileges that now belong
 “ to him as a native thereof.

“ As for the two savage monsters Antonio
 “ Alvarez Ferreira and Joseph Policarpio de
 “ Azevedo, who discharged those pieces from
 “ which the supreme majesty of the king
 “ received his wounds, we sentence them
 “ to be conducted with halters about their
 “ necks to the aforesaid square of Bellem,
 “ where, after being chained to two high
 “ poles erected for that purpose, they are to
 “ be surrounded with fire, which is to con-
 “ sume them alive, till their bodies shall be
 “ reduced to dust and ashes, to be thrown
 “ into

“ into the sea as before expressed. More-
 “ over their goods are confiscated, and the
 “ houses in which they dwelt are to be de-
 “ molished and destroyed, supposing, how-
 “ ever, they are their own property, in
 “ which case salt is likewise to be scattered
 “ upon the place where they stood. And
 “ as the criminal Joseph Policarpio is not
 “ to be found, we here proscribe him and
 “ declare him outlawed, and order all the
 “ magistrates in the kingdom, in their respec-
 “ tive towns to summon the inhabitants
 “ together, in order to find him out and ap-
 “ prehend him, or in case of their not being
 “ able to take him alive, to kill him, sup-
 “ posing, however, that the person who kills
 “ him be not his enemy. And the person
 “ or persons who shall bring the said Jo-
 “ seph Policarpio alive to Pedro Gonçalvez
 “ Cordeiro Pereira, justiciary of high trea-
 “ son within this realm, shall receive at
 “ sight the reward of ten thousand new
 “ crowns;” (a new crown is something
 above,

above half a crown English) “ supposing
“ him to be taken in the dominions of this
“ kingdom; or of twenty thousand crowns if
“ taken in any foreign country, besides be-
“ ing repaid the expences they may have
“ incurred in bringing him to the aforefaid
“ fenator Pedro Gonfalvez Cordeiro Pereira.

“ We fentence moreover the following
“ criminals, Louis Bernardo de Tavora, Don
“ Jeronymo de Ataide, late count of Atou-
“ guia, Joſeph Maria de Tavora, Bras Jo-
“ ſeph Romeiro, John Miguel, and Ema-
“ nuel Alvarez Ferreira, to be conducted
“ with halters about their necks to the ſcaf-
“ fold to be erected for theſe executions,
“ where they ſhall be ſtrangled firſt, after
“ which the great and ſmall bones of their
“ arms and legs ſhall be broken, and laid
“ upon wheels, and their bodies reduced by
“ fire into aſhes, which ſhall be thrown in-
“ to the ſea as above mentioned. More-
“ over all their eſtates real and perſonal, and
“ other

“ other goods are confiscated, and perpetual
 “ infamy is intailed upon their children and
 “ posterity. The houses where they dwel-
 “ led, supposing them to be their own pro-
 “ perty, are to be demolished and rased to
 “ the ground, and salt scattered upon the
 “ spot where they stood. Moreover the
 “ coats of arms that any of these criminals
 “ have borne to this time, are to be beaten
 “ down to the ground and erased.

“ Lastly, we sentence the criminal Leo-
 “ nora de Tavora, wife of the criminal
 “ Francis de Affis de Tavora, excusing her
 “ upon just considerations from the severe
 “ punishments her crimes deserve, to be
 “ conducted with a halter about her
 “ neck to the before mentioned scaffold,
 “ where her head shall be severed from her
 “ body, both which shall afterwards be re-
 “ duced by fire to ashes, to be thrown like-
 “ wise into the sea. Moreover all her estates
 “ real and personal are confiscated, and all

I

“ the

“ the other punishments are to take place
 “ in her denounced against the criminal Jo-
 “ seph Mascarenias, and Francis de Affis de
 “ Tavora, in order to blot out entirely the
 “ memory of there having been such persons
 “ upon the face of the earth.

“ At the palace of our lady of help, in the
 “ meeting of the 12th of January 1759,
 “ signed with the seals of the three secreta-
 “ ries of state who presided at it, with the
 “ names of the following judges under-
 “ written :

| | | |
|------------|---|----------------|
| Cordeiro | } | were present." |
| Pacheco, | | |
| Bacalhaon, | | |
| Lima, | | |
| Souto, | | |
| Oliveira, | | |
| Machado, | | |

Then comes the royal seal, which concludes the whole,

Mast

Most of the goods and furniture of the unfortunate noblemen who were executed have been selling by auction, and the English say in a bad manner, nay that even every thing most trifling, as dirty caps and such things, were included in the sale. Some other nobles are to be banished, and the rest that are in prison to be released. The king has granted for life to his secretary of state Sebastian Joseph de Carvalho forty body guards, who ride after his chaise with their swords drawn, &c. An officer with a drummer attending him and beating at their head render him a very pompous figure. The reason assigned for this is lest any of the family of the poor nobles should chuse to revenge their death upon him, whom every person esteems the author of it. However, I fancy a little ambition is at the bottom, as to defend himself from a stiletto four guards would do as well as four hundred. The ladies that were wives or other relations to the nobles are still in monasteries, from

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whence

whence I should think they would not chuse to come out even if they could. The young marchioness of Tavora is likewise in a convent, she who is supposed to be the real spring of all this mystery ; and you see in what the court has published, tho' they tell you exactly where the king was going, yet they say nothing of whence he came at that time of night without any guards or even a servant to attend him, and only an unknown person in the chaise. Indeed, without something of that sort, the whole story would be incoherent, for that the Tavora family should be so stirred up against the king, because his minister would not make them dukes, seems a thing difficult to be believed. What appears to me most particular is, that tho' the king was known to frequent the young marchioness for above three years before, yet this flame of Portuguese revenge should break out so late. This can only be attributed to the jesuits, who with all their art blew up this terrible combustion,

bustion, in revenge for what had justly been done to them, for their incroachments in South America. What is become of the heads of them nobody knows. We have expected every day to see a new execution, and Malagrida with some of the other principals of that order at the head of it. But nothing has yet appeared. We know that guards are set at all their convents, that when any of them is to say mass, two soldiers stand on each side of the altar. We know that a great many are in prison, but this is all we know for certain; the rest is only conjecture. If I can get any thing tolerably authentic about them for my next paper I will send it you. One of the principal of them is said to have died a natural death in prison a few days ago, but whether his end was so or no I cannot tell, however I have heard that he was in a lingering way before. Among the common people there is a rumour, that a good many of them have been put to death secretly.

L E T T E R XVI.

LISBON, FEB. 24, 1759.

I AM glad that my letters concerning our conspiracy meet so much with your approbation. You will by this time have received some more, and I have, perhaps, one or two still remaining, but I must wait a little, to get more authentic intelligence. What I have written was from the truest informations I could possibly obtain. The court attempts to throw a veil over all its actions, and you only find against whom its anger is turned, as the bolts fall.

These mysterious proceedings render the Portuguese very shy of speaking about public affairs; and, indeed, the English factory has but little connection with them. This will
hinder

hinder me from being able to know so much of their manners as I could wish; for, I confess, I should be pleased to know the descendants of those heroes, whose arms made the Moors tremblingly relinquish their possessions in Africa; and whose fleets urging on through unknown seas to farthest India erected an empire which might still have flourished, if their falling under the yoke of Philip the second had not sunk that national spirit, which seems never to have been thoroughly roused again. When, indeed, they broke their chains and set the house of Braganza upon the throne in the reign of Philip the fourth of Spain, they maintained a long war against the irritated Spaniard, but after treaties had established their independence, they sunk again into inactivity. This seems still to hang upon them, and will probably do so, till some new exertion calls them forth to action, which seems difficult, however, to happen in our times, as their trade will always find them.

protectors who will fight for them. The race of those who fought for themselves, seems in part to have perished with the Alonfos and Sebastians.

The same rumour prevails here as with you in London, of the death of the king of Spain; and that they conceal it in order to give the king of Naples more time to regulate his affairs. The other day there was a little dispute between captain Legge and one of the Disimbargadors. Captain Legge commands the Trident, a ship belonging to Admiral Holmes's division of Saunders's squadron, and which, by the bad weather, was driven into this port dismasted. He had three Portuguese subjects on board. One of them one night wanted to desert, and accordingly, had got down into the Tagus to swim on shore, but being observed, was retaken, and by captain Legge's orders put into irons for four and twenty hours. In the mean time his two countrymen contrived to send a note
to

to Lisbon of there being three Portuguese subjects on board, who they said had been very ill treated, and that the captain would not dismiss them, tho' they had begged him repeated times to do it. The Disimbargador or magistrate of justice, to whom this complaint was made, ordered his officers to arrest captain Legge as soon as he came on shore, styling him in his warrant captain of a privateer, whether thro' ignorance or cunning, not to have been said to have put under arrest an officer in his Britannic majesty's service, I know not. However, certain it was, that the order was given; but the officer that was commissioned to put it in execution, acquainted a friend of captain Legge's of the whole affair, who informed him of it. He immediately wrote a letter to our consul, complaining of the insult that had been offered to the British flag. The affair, however, has been set to rights, and the Disimbargador reprimanded. As for
the

the three Portuguese, I do not know whether they have been yet delivered or not, but I believe they will, as I think Carvalho has issued those orders.

L E T.

L E T T E R XVII.

LISBON, FEB. 25, 1759.

I promised you some further account of the affair of the conspiracy in these countries, but as a deep cloud seems still to overwhelm what concerns the jesuits, which is all that remains, I will wait another week in hopes of its dissipating. With regard to the nobles, I think there is nothing more to add. Some indeed, they say, have been relegated to St. Thomé, or other distant parts of the Portuguese dominions, and the remainder are still in prison.

To turn your eyes, therefore, from this melancholy subject, and give you the former glories, as I have sent you the present misfortunes of Portugal, I will speak of what
it

It was heretofore. This I will do in consequence of your desiring me to give you some historical account of the countries I passed thro'. Tho' I consider your desire as calculated more for my instruction than for your own information, I shall obey your commands.

Portugal is nearly the antient Lusitania of the Romans, and after the fall of this powerful nation sunk, like the rest of its dependencies, under the hands of those barbarous emigrants, who overthrew what the idle fancy of the Latin authors had deemed eternal. To the Visigoths, or western Goths, who occupied Spain, succeeded the Saracens, who had embraced a religion which was to be propagated by conquest, and who coming directly from Barbary, were at length confounded with the inhabitants of that country and called Moors. Long did a few oppressed believers groan under this yoke, till at length count Alonso Enriquez, by his victories over
the

the disciples of Mahomet, formed a little territory, which he ruled with the title of king given him by pope Eugenius III. His successors increased the territories, and established the kingdom of Portugal, whose history, however, yielded nothing very remarkable for a long time, except wars against the Moors and their neighbours, till at length its maritime situation and the intrepidity of the inhabitants began to explore what hitherto had lain hid beyond the depths of the ocean. Henry, brother to king John, encouraged these researches, and by his astronomical knowledge and pecuniary largesses had already opened to his countrymen a large part of the coast of Africa. The same spirit seized at length the throne, and John the second sent large expeditions to the astonished negroes, who partly submitted to his arms, and partly embraced his religion. Still farther achievements were performed by his successor Emanuel, whose triumphant colours passed the cape of Good Hope under

Vasco

Vaſo de Gama, and a great part of the Eaſt became ſubject to Portugal. Valor and religion went hand in hand, and ſoldiers and miſſionaries ſhewed equal fanaticiſm in their different purſuits. In Abyſſinia, to their wonder, they found a kingdom already chriſtian, which they converted, with their king David, to the Roman catholic perſuaſion, but by becoming too aſſuming, were at laſt again driven with their tenets out of it. This expulſion was not compleated till the ſucceeding reigns, and Portugal in other reſpects continued flouriſhing till the young Sebastian loſt his life and crown in Africa, in the fatal battle againſt Muley Moluch, whoſe bravery that day, ſo fatal to the arms of Portugal, has been ſufficiently recorded in hiſtory, and particularly in the Spectator. Sebastian likewiſe ſhewed himſelf the hero in that engagement, and was found covered with wounds amongſt heaps of the ſlain, tho' impoſtors afterwards pretended to be him who had eſcaped. His crown went to
the

the cardinal Henry, who was his great uncle. This prelate was no less than sixty-seven years old when he succeeded to the throne of Portugal, and his short reign of not a year and a half was more taken up with disputes about who was to be his successor than any thing else. Philip the second, then king of Spain, who was one of the candidates, soon defeated the only one of the others who appeared in arms against him, which was Don Antonio, a bastard son of the late king's brother. Portugal had no sooner submitted to the arms of Spain than all her enthusiasm for glory fell with her independency, and discouraged, despised and oppressed by her haughty neighbour, she seemed to drag on a languishing existence, till the duke of Braganza, under Philip the fourth of Spain, re-assumed the throne of his ancestors by a popular insurrection, and it has ever since been preserved in that family. But the spirit of the Portuguese seems never to have been thoroughly roused from the lethargy under which

which it sunk during those years it was a despised province of Spain. They joined with us, however, against the succession of Philip the fifth, in favor of the house of Austria, but they and their allies were routed at Almanza, since which time they have performed no active part in Europe. You will be content, I believe, with this sketch, and, indeed, you may, perhaps, not be sorry that I have not been more particular.

We see here all your green house plants growing wild in the hedges. These are principally made of aloes, which, indeed, seem more calculated for constructing a fence than for beauty. They say, indeed, in England, they are very fine when in flower, but, I believe, only on account of the rarity; as here, where you will soon see a hundred of them branching out in every lane, no person thinks about the matter. The ladies of England have more reason on their side with regard to orange trees, as
there

PORTUGAL, SPAIN, &c. 129

there is something naturally pretty in them, and perhaps more so when they grow in pots than when they are able to attain their full growth, as they acquire a deeper colour, and do not look so lively. As for myrtle it here grows wild in the woods, as neglected a plant as any there.

I shall set out for Seville the beginning of next month, but may stay some days at Beja in my way thither.

K

LET

L E T T E R XVIII.

LISBON, MARCH 4, 1759.

THE cloud hanging over the affair of the jesuits is not yet dissipated. I will, therefore, stay another week to see whether it will disperse or no, and in the mean time will send you some account of Camoens the famous Portuguese epic poet, so little known and so much cried up in England, that I have heard him styled the best author in the whole world. Lewis de Camoens was said to be born at Lisbon, but his birth place seems very uncertain. He lived a very unfortunate life, as he was first upon account of some intrigues banished from Lisbon, and went to the Portuguese East Indies, where he afterwards met with a great many disasters, and was by some of the Portuguese governors

governors banished a second time from their possessions in those countries. Upon this he went to China, and having after some years obtained leave to return to Lisbon, he followed the Portuguese arms into Africa, where he behaved so valiantly, that upon his return he was received very cordially by the famous Sebastian then king of Portugal, to whom he dedicated his poem, the greatest part of which he had composed during the time of his distress, and had preserved when he was cast away upon the coast of Camboya on his returning to Portugal, by swimming on shore with it in his teeth. This was all he saved of what he then possessed in the world. Sebastian gave him a pension for life, upon which he was subsisting very comfortably, when that unfortunate prince lost his life in Africa. Upon the king's perishing Camoens lost likewise his pension, and his successor cardinal Henry dying, all Portugal became a scene of confusion. During this melancholy interval the voice of poor

K 2

Camoens

Camoens remained unheard, and he fell into the most extreme poverty. The infirmities attending his advanced age, and the agitation of his spirits, soon brought him to the grave, and he is even said to have died in an hospital. Shortly before he expired he beheld his country fall under the yoke of Spain. Upon this occasion Camoens in a last letter to his friend, a little before his death, uses these words. “ I now draw near the
 “ end of my career, and I hope the world
 “ will have been convinced by my actions of
 “ my sincere affection for my country. I reckon
 “ myself happy too, in not only being able
 “ to die in her bosom, but also in not sur-
 “ viving her death.” He was buried poorly in St. Anne’s church, and the following simple inscription was afterwards put upon his grave.

“ Here lies Lewis de Camoens, the prince
 “ of poets in his time, poor and unhappy
 “ was

“ was his life, poor and unhappy was his
“ death,

“ In the year 1759.”

Having said so much to you about the man, I shall now speak something about his poem, which he entitles the *Lusiade*, upon account of the Latin name of Portugal, (*Lusitania*) said to be derived from one *Lusus* an ancient hero who came here.

The subject of this work is the discovery of the East Indies, tho' he makes very great digressions from it. The Portuguese were the first who, after doubling the Cape of Good Hope, went on towards India. He very nobly represents that famous promontory under the figure of a giant, threatening those hardy mortals who dared to pass his boundaries. The hero of the poem is the first explorer of these unknown seas, Vasco de Gama. The first canto opens in the old

K 3

style.

style, when Vasco was got about half way to India, which causes an old fashioned quarrel of heathen gods, whether the Portuguese shall accomplish their designs or not. Bacchus is their enemy from jealousy of their going to the Indies, which he is reported formerly to have conquered, lest their victories should obscure his. Venus favors them upon account of their great gallantry. In the mean time Vasco meets with all proper difficulties of winds and weather, and rocks and savages, however, at last Jupiter sends Mercury and Fame to dispose the inhabitants of Melinda on the eastern coast of Africa to be favorable to the adventurers, who land there, and are perfectly well received by the king of that country. As the negro monarch is desirous of being informed of the affairs of Europe, a very long episode is made to explain them, in which Vasco naturally includes those of Portugal, and gives a history of her kings, interspersed with very pretty passages. This long episode concludes

cludes with an account of the voyage of the whole fleet from Portugal, after which the king of Melinda thanks his informer, and they are extremely good friends, till at length Vasco sets forward again in search of the rising sun, for so our poet generally expresses himself when he speaks of the East Indies. Bacchus gets Neptune to raise storms, and plays the deuce with him, but at last they obtain a sight of the long-sought shores. You may imagine Venus is not idle in assisting them; but notwithstanding her endeavours, when they land upon the coast of Malabar they cannot agree upon a settled commerce with the natives, who by the instigation of Bacchus use them very ill, to such a degree that they are forced to return without obtaining any other advantage than the being able to give an account of their having discovered the place desired. In their return Venus throws them upon a delightful island, where she gets all her friends among the sea nymphs to meet them, and Thetis

at their head, who becomes Ciciſbea (to uſe an Italian word) to Vaſco de Gama. They all are as happy as poſſible in the company of their marine divinities, and Thetis carries the officers of the fleet up to the top of a high mountain, where there is a vaſt globe repreſenting the univerſe. They here ſee all the planetary motions, and all the kingdoms of the earth, and Thetis tells them every thing that is to happen, and in particular with regard to the kingdom of Portugal. After this ſupernatural entertainment our heroes quit the iſland and return home, but not without ſome difficulties. They are received upon their return with the greateſt applauſe.

This is the principal thread of the epic poem, and perhaps I may give you a ſhort ſample of ſome paſſages in it. I am too little a judge of the Portuguese language to give my opinion with regard to the goodneſs of this performance, but at the ſame time that I do
not

PORTUGAL, SPAIN, &c. 137

not deny it has merit, I am far from thinking it one of the best epic poems in the world, as I have falsely heard it reported to be.

LET.

L E T T E R X I X .

LISBON, MARCH 8, 1759.

AS I have nothing else authentic to write to you for my present paper, I will give you a lame translation of a passage or two of this work of Camoens; chosen out rather from my lighting upon them first, than from their being the best in the poem.

He runs very high in the praise of Alonfo the great, king of Portugal, and describes his actions very poetically; I, however, shall only give you here what he says upon his death.

“ Alonfo, his brows now crowned with
“ hoary locks, was enjoying the fruits of
“ his glory, when he was obliged to pay
“ to

“ to the fates that common tribute of nature,
 “ demanded as well from the king as from
 “ the shepherd. With incessant moan did
 “ the vassals of Portugal lament his death.
 “ The rocks, woods, and mountains rung
 “ with their just affliction. The Tagus,
 “ swoln with the tears of its nymphs, rolled
 “ its course to the waves of Neptune with
 “ a melancholy murmur, expressive of its
 “ grief. The echoes with a plaintive voice
 “ called for a long time upon the generous
 “ Alonzo; Alonzo, who, tho’ dead, yet
 “ lived in the hearts of his people; and
 “ left to the universe a name indelible by
 “ the hand of time.”

Tho’ in a dull prose translation the original must have lost prodigiously, yet, still I hope it will give you some little glimmering of what the author would mean to say. Some of his descriptions of battles are very fine, but descriptions of battles are such common—place things in poetry, that I do
 not

not think it worth while to give you any of them. I rather chuse to give you a little Episode he makes upon the charming Inès, with whom Don Pedro, son of the then reigning Alonso, (quite a different person from him whose death he laments so much,) was in love.

“ Alonso, restored once more from Africa
“ to his native soil, was preparing to enjoy
“ his laurels in tranquillity, when his ease
“ and glory were blasted by an unhappy
“ event; a fatal and melancholy adventure,
“ which rendered the Portuguese spectators
“ of beauty unparalleled sinking under the
“ weight of unjust rigor. It was thou, O
“ far redoubted Love! it was thou alone that
“ wast the cause of her death! Thou tyrant
“ most cruel, do not the tears of thy slaves
“ content thee, but must thou bathe thine
“ altars with their blood?

“ Thou,

PORTUGAL, SPAIN, &c. 141

“ Thou, O beautiful Inès, upon Mon-
“ dego’s flowery banks wast enjoying an
“ agreeable solitude. Thy lips were teach-
“ ing the mountain and forest to re-echo
“ that beloved name thou borest engraven
“ on thy heart ; the name of thy prince,
“ whose presence made thy happiness, and
“ whose least absence cost thee so many
“ tears. He too, tho’ deprived of thy com-
“ pany, felt his whole soul occupied with
“ the flattering remembrance of those sweet
“ hours he had enjoyed with thee ; the
“ pledges of his eternal tenderness. Tho’
“ absent from those fair eyes, every thing
“ brought back thy image to his idea. The
“ agreeable impostures of a thousand dreams
“ by night rekindled his ardor. By day
“ his sighs and every thought waited upon
“ thy charms.

“ It was for thee only, much beloved
“ Inès, that thy faithful Don Pedro refused
“ the heart and hand of princesses, exqui-
“ site

“ fite in beauty, and eminent in rank. Can
“ his royal father counterpoise fo violent a
“ paffion with thofe murmurs which his
“ vaffals, eager to fee their youthful prince
“ wedded to fome royal dame, fend forth ?
“ Yes, Alonfo’s feverity decides againft the
“ tender weaknefs, now regarded as a crime.
“ Unhappy Inès muft die. Her death muft
“ break the flavery in which her beauty
“ holds Don Pedro. What fury inspired
“ fo great a monarch to uplift his hand
“ againft a life undefended but by tears ?
“ That fword, fo formidable to the Moors,
“ abhorred it not being bathed in female
“ blood.

“ Her cruel enemies now drag poor Inès
“ before the king. Her youth, her charms,
“ her misfortunes touch him. Heaven-born
“ mercy infinuates herfelf into his breast.
“ But the tumultuous cries of his vaffals
“ awaken his anger afrefh. Inès lefs appre-
“ hive of her impending death than of the
“ melan-

“ melancholy state of solitude in which she
 “ must leave her prince and the fruits of
 “ his love, lifts up her eyes bathed with
 “ tears to heaven ; her eyes alone, her fair
 “ hands were bound, and could not be em-
 “ ployed in the melancholy office. Then
 “ turning those fair orbs towards her little
 “ children, crouding round her, her grief
 “ is redoubled at the cruel sight. The cold
 “ hand of affliction benumbs her heart. At
 “ length breaking silence, she thus bespoke
 “ the king.

“ If it be true that the universe has be-
 “ held savages and wild beasts, whom na-
 “ ture teaches cruelty, softened at the af-
 “ fliction of tender infants, as was the
 “ foster mother of Nynias, or of the foun-
 “ ders of Rome ; if this be true, O thou,
 “ who in appearance art human, could hu-
 “ manity be consistent with the slaughter
 “ of a wretched damsel, whose only crime
 “ is to have submitted her heart to the
 “ youth

“ youth who knew how to conquer it ?
“ O ! cast an eye of pity upon these un-
“ happy orphans. Let their innocence stop
“ thy uplifted hand. I supplicate thee not
“ for my life. My death is wished for. Be
“ that wish gratified. Yet still, if your
“ elemency equals your valor ; if you
“ know how to spare innocence, as you
“ can thunder destruction in the heat of
“ battle upon the brutality of the Moors,
“ sooner than imbrue your hands in my
“ blood, banish me to some unhappy retreat,
“ where either frozen Scythia or the burn-
“ ing deserts of Africa reign. Confine me
“ where tygers and lions dwell. Among
“ them will I seek that pity man denies me.
“ There attended by my tears and sighs,
“ my heart full of that dear object for which
“ I am dragged to punishment, there will
“ I educate my little ones. The sight of
“ them shall be the only consolation of a
“ mother equally tender as unhappy.”

Alonso

Alonso, after having heard the speech of Inès, was rather inclined to treat her with indulgence; but at last he is obliged to yield to the obstinacy of the people, who with unparalleled rigor, says the author, murmur against his mercy; and the principals among them, in a sort of mutiny, draw their swords and murder poor Inès. The words of the author are these.

“ Impatient of longer delay their glitter-
 “ ing swords vibrate in air, to execute of
 “ themselves, what their mad prepossession
 “ deems necessary. The blind rage which
 “ hurries them on, hides from them the
 “ chastisement soon to break upon their
 “ heads. One strikes upon that alabaster
 “ neck, which now no more supports the
 “ most beautiful visage love ever adored.
 “ A second buries his steel in that well-
 “ turned bosom, capable of softening the
 “ most obdurate heart. Base fanguinary
 “ butchers, brave only against a tender
 L “ damsel!

“ damsel ! So Pyrrhus’ sword pierced the
“ side of the charming Polixena. Yet the
“ Grecian’s cruelty was less odious. He
“ only obeyed his father’s spirit. Bright
“ torch of day ! if horror for the Thyestean
“ banquet heretofore forced thee to veil thy
“ light under impenetrable clouds, with
“ what eye dost thou behold the virtuous
“ Inès perish ? The crimes of her assassins
“ equal that of Atreus. Invert thy course.
“ Let the East behold thy setting, for Inès
“ dies. Her pale cold mouth pronounces
“ her beloved Don Pedro’s name mingled
“ with the last sigh. As the brilliant co-
“ lours of a flower culled by some wanton
“ shepherds languish, so fade the charms,
“ the once so enchanting charms of the
“ beautiful Inès. Long did the nymphs
“ upon Mondego’s banks lament her fate,
“ but her spectre wandered not unrevenged.
“ Her murderers seeing Don Pedro upon
“ the throne fly to Castile to evade his
“ anger.

PORTUGAL, SPAIN, &c. 147

“ anger. But implacable justice pursues
“ their steps. The Castilian delivers them
“ up. They expire in torments, recom-
“ pence worthy of their inhumanity.”

L 2

L E T.

L E T T E R XX.

LISBON, MARCH 12, 1759.

I Will now give a sort of digression of Camouens upon the Portuguese gaining the first sight of the East Indian coast.

“ Behold,” says he, “ intrepid warriors,
“ who burn with the desire of honest fame,
“ behold the object of your wishes, and animate yourselves with new courage. Before your eyes lie those happy climes
“ which are to crown your fatigues. ’Tis to you, O brave posterity of Lusus ! (the Portuguese), I address myself, who possessing but a point upon the globe, yet dare affront the greatest dangers, to introduce the light of truth amongst people
“ ignorant

“ ignorant of its rays. In such a cause
 “ weakness retards you not. Valor supplies
 “ the force you are deficient in. The august
 “ laws of religion flourish at the expence of
 “ your blood. But, alas ! whilst you, hea-
 “ ven-assisted, pierce to the utmost confines
 “ of the world, destroying the worship of
 “ false deities, the Germans, that haughty
 “ nation, sovereign of so many provinces,
 “ abandoned to errors the most detestable,
 “ in the criminal defence of them are prodi-
 “ gal of that blood, which with more glory
 “ might be spent against the Ottomans.

“ England, too, tho’ mistress of the title of
 “ ruler of Jerusalem, yet lets that holy city
 “ groan under Mahometan oppression. Her
 “ king immersed in softness, enjoys the insa-
 “ mous luxury of the Assyrians amidst
 “ northern snows ; or if ever he unsheaths
 “ his sword, it is fatal to the lives of fellow
 “ Christians.

“ But what ought I to say of you, inhabitants of France, whose character was
 “ that of candor and equity, but now, hurried on by ambition, you forge chimerical
 “ rights to states which belong not to you ?
 “ If your extensive dominions be not sufficient, why signalize you not your courage
 “ upon the banks of Nile and Ciniphus ?
 “ There would your conquests be legitimate,
 “ not so upon your neighbours, who adore
 “ the same God. Have you inherited the
 “ kingdom of the great Charles and Lewis,
 “ but did their justice die with them ?

“ Thou too, unhappy Italy ! land once
 “ so respectable ! now plunged in vice, I
 “ behold thy unhappy offspring enervated
 “ by luxury and effeminacy, vile slaves of
 “ treasure accumulated with dishonest pains !
 “ I behold them leading an inglorious life
 “ in the bosom of sloth. Artifice has succeeded
 “ to that triumphant valour, which
 “ subjected the world to the laws of their
 “ ancestors.

“ ancestors. But indolence is their slightest
 “ evil. With cruel divisions they tear in
 “ pieces the entrails of their bleeding coun-
 “ try. O miserable inhabitants of Europe !
 “ what rage animates you against your bre-
 “ thren ? Turn your eyes towards the se-
 “ pulchre of your holy legislator. Behold it
 “ in prey to the barbarous descendants of
 “ Ishmael, always united to attack you, who
 “ never are so to defend yourselves. Will
 “ Alecto for ever breathe upon you the spirit
 “ of discord ? Behold, alas ! what dangers
 “ environ you, and how will you escape the
 “ impending cloud, if you destroy each
 “ other, while the sons of Mahomet unite
 “ in your destruction. If riches be your
 “ aim, the waters of Hermus and Pactolus
 “ roll over strands of gold. Lydia and Af-
 “ syria enjoy that too precious metal, Afri-
 “ ca in her bosom conceals abundant veins.
 “ These climes open an unbounded field to
 “ your conquests. To amass treasure per-
 “ form that which you refuse to do for the
 L 4 interest

“ interest of your altars. Your artillery,
 “ that tremendous invention, placing thun-
 “ der in the hands of men, ought to be
 “ turned against the walls of Byzantium.
 “ Deliver their circumference from the
 “ usurpers who occupy it.

“ Bid those unjust possessors abandon the
 “ peaceful shades of Europe. Bid them re-
 “ turn to their Caspian mountains, and the
 “ cold inhospitable dens of Scythia. The
 “ Greek, the Thracian, the Armenian,
 “ demand your assistance. Those nations
 “ sinking under the weight of a tyrannic
 “ yoke, with tears inform you, that their
 “ infants are torn from their breasts, not
 “ only to be educated in slavery, but infected
 “ with the poison of error and impiety.
 “ These are just causes for war. Vie with
 “ each other in valor and prudence to chaf-
 “ tise Ottoman inhumanity, not to oppress
 “ those united to you by the same law.

“ But

PORTUGAL, SPAIN, &c. 153

“ But in vain pretend the pious deities of
“ Parnassus to appease the dissensions of Eu-
“ rope. Their voice remains unheard. The
“ furies triumph. Portugal alone treads
“ the paths of real honor.”

I will give you one more quotation, which shall be what Camouens says at the conclusion of his poem. He addresses himself to Don Sebastian king of Portugal, his patron, the hero who afterwards fell in Africa, in that famous battle against Muley Moluch, in which both the Moorish and Christian princes were killed; however, the vulgar people in Portugal have a story that Sebastian is not really dead, but only concealed, and that he is to return and restore Portugal to its antient splendor. However, to leave fables and give you the rhapsody of my poet, which is profaically expressed in what follows,

“ Muses no more, my harp is untuned,
“ and my voice begins to fail. ’Tis yours,
“ young

" young prince, lord of these realms, 'tis
 " yours to reanimate my song. For you
 " will I once more invoke the sacred nine.
 " Afford me but the subject. Heaven has
 " entrusted to your care a nation, whose loy-
 " alty and valor enable you to atchieve any
 " undertaking. Your vassals are ready in
 " your service to bear the piercing edge of
 " hunger, the cruelty of Mars, the injury
 " of the seasons, the heats of the burning
 " zone, the snows of either pole, the storms
 " and monsters of the deep; in a word,
 " earth and hell united. Honor them only
 " with a favourable regard. Ease them
 " from the yoke of those too rigorous laws
 " that oppress them. Let ministers who
 " join undoubted probity to long experience
 " be your advisers. Be those also confined
 " to the foot of the altars, whose duty it is
 " to see their worship duly performed, nor
 " let them, precipitated by vain ambition,
 " trouble your people by attempting to go-
 " vern them. The duty of priests is to lift
 " up

“ up their hands to your celestial master,
 “ imploring in your favor his eternal wif-
 “ dom. With them other occupations are
 “ criminal. In a word, young prince, reign
 “ by yourself; nor let Italy, Germany,
 “ France or England, heretofore the admi-
 “ rers of Portugal, let them not say that
 “ her glory is obscured, or that her sons are
 “ become flaves. Then will I touch again
 “ the founding lyre to celebrate thy fame,
 “ and whilst haughty Atlas trembles in be-
 “ holding thee, while the affrighted plains
 “ of Ampelusia bear witness to the flight of
 “ the warriors of Marocco and Tarudant,
 “ will I extend thy praises to the end of the
 “ globe. The universal globe, seized with
 “ awe and affection, shall confess in my
 “ prince a second Alexander, who need not
 “ envy the happiness of Achilles.”

It is with this high-flown compliment to
 himself that our poet ends his work, the
 meaning

meaning of which you know is alluding to Alexander's having said that he envied Achilles in nothing, but in having Homer to record his actions. A bold stroke in Camouens to equal himself to Homer at the same time he compares Don Sebastian to Alexander. From these few passages you may perhaps be able to form some little, but imperfect idea of that author. You may wonder what I have been quoting in this and my former paper has to do for the most part with a voyage to India. What I gave you in the foregoing was taken out of the Episode, in which he gives some description of Europe to the king of Melinda, but more especially of the affairs of Portugal; and as for this last quotation, you see it is merely an apostrophe to the king for the conclusion of his poem. I think for a Roman catholic country he speaks very freely of the priests. It must be rather an affecting passage to the Portuguese in the present

present state of things. The late affair of the jesuits comes too *apropos* to what he says about church ambition not to be taken notice of.

LET.

L E T T E R XXI.

LISBON, MARCH 17, 1759.

A Dark mist still hanging over the affairs of the jesuits, and as the misfortunes of our fellow countrymen always interest us, I shall therefore, without farther preamble, send you an account of the catastrophe of the late James Read, Esq. consul general of Barbary.

Mr. Read, late of Gibraltar, was in the month of July, 1757, appointed consul general to the king of Marocco. Mr. Pitt sent him out his commission by a messenger on purpose, who arrived at Gibraltar the last day of September; and upon the twelfth of October he embarked for Sallee, on board the Syren Frigate. He soon got from Sallee
to

to Marocco, where the young prince Sidi Mahomet resided, who, by the consent of his father Muley Abdallah then living, held the reins of government, and transacted all affairs with foreign powers. It was this young prince that had demanded a consul, and desired to have a peace renewed with the English.

While Mr. Read was at Marocco, the king Abdallah died, and Sidi Mahomet his son succeeded without opposition to the throne, which he still continues to enjoy.

Mr. Read was surprized to find that he was received with great coolness, and even with a kind of contempt. Nor did Sidi Mahomet accept more graciously the presents that Mr. Read had brought him, but seemed to despise them as of little value, tho' they cost above £600; and he had received another which was very handsome, about four months before, and had been sent out from
England

England on purpose. Some attribute the reason of this bad treatment and coolness to our having neglected the son too much during the life of his father; but it seems in part to have been owing to the instigation of the French interest in those countries, who endeavoured to represent every thing concerning us in the worst light. By the beginning, however, of December, Mr. Read had adjusted matters with him in the best manner possible; tho', indeed, all he had obtained was a truce for a twelvemonth, during which interval he was to solicit a letter from our king himself, in answer to the many exorbitant demands which the Moorish sovereign made. He had been affronted at Mr. Pitt's only writing himself, and said he expected a letter from the king's own hand, and not from that of his secretaries; an office which the Moors do not seem much to understand. Upon these terms they parted, and Mr. Read was on his way back to Gibraltar, and had now got as far as Sallee, when

when an unlucky, tho' deserved accident, happened to one of the cruizers of the Moorish king. She fell in with the same frigate which had brought Mr. Read to Sallee, in her return from thence. The Moorish vessel mistaking her for a merchant ship, (as the Syren is small,) hoped easily to make her a prey; and discharged a broadside, which was followed with an attempt to board. But the Syren bestirring herself, drove the cruizer on shore upon the Barbary coast, near Cape Spartel, where she perished. The news of this accident was soon spread abroad, and the king immediately sent after Mr. Read, with orders to stop him at Sallee, and demand satisfaction for the loss of his ship. About the same time Mr. Read received a letter from admiral Osborne, who then commanded the Mediterranean fleet, informing him of the whole transaction. In order to anticipate any demand on the part of the Moorish king, he desired Mr. Read to insist upon

M satisfaction

satisfaction for the affront offered to our flag in firing upon an English vessel with British colours flying. Mr. Read acted as admiral Osborne had told him, and appeared astonished when the king made his complaints to him upon that subject. But Sidi Mahomet persisted in asserting that his cruizer had been unjustly destroyed, and demanded 20000 ducats, about £6000. sterling, as an equivalent. The consul upon refusal of this was confined to a close room at Sallee. However, he was kept there but a few hours, and was then sent back a prisoner to his house, which was surrounded by a detachment of guards.

He continued in this state till the king came to Fez, in a tour he was making thro' his new dominions. He here ordered Mr. Read to be brought up to him from Sallee, in order to determine something concerning their difference. The consul arrived at Fez the 29th of January, 1758, and the day after

PORTUGAL, SPAIN, &c. 163

after wrote letters to his friends at Gibraltar, which shew he was in good health and spirits. However, he little knew how busy his enemies in Barbary were, and that every contrivance was putting in practice to set the king against him. Upon his arrival at Fez he was again beset with guards, and during several days had frequent messages sent him by the king, who still demanded satisfaction, which Mr. Read peremptorily refused.

But as my history proves rather long, the remainder of it must be deferred to my next paper.

M 2

L E T.

L E T T E R XXII.

LISBON, MARCH 14, 1759.

ON the 16th of February, 1758, Mr. Read and Mr. Grosvenor, a lieutenant of marines belonging to the Syren frigate, who had accompanied the consul upon this expedition, were both ordered to appear before the king. In this audience he broke out into exclamations and revilings against the English in general, and Mr. Read in particular, with many opprobrious terms, threatening to torture and burn him if he did not grant his demands with regard to the ship. This the consul steadily refused to do as unjust, and bore the king's treatment with much composure of mind, which irritated the Barbarian monarch's pride to that degree as made him order his guards to
seize

seize upon Mr. Read and drag him to a dungeon. Before they carried him down they buffeted him according to the Moorish custom, and then drove him headlong into it with kicks and cuffs. It was here, indeed, Mr. Read's composure of mind abandoned him. His passions broke loose, and wrought him into a rage, which agitated his spirits so violently, that it quite unhinged him, if I may be allowed the expression, and left him in a dejection of mind which he never got the better of. He was detained about three hours in this dungeon, and when relieved was threatened with worse usage, if he did not submit to the king's demand.

Upon the 17th the king sent several messages to Mr. Read and the English with him, accompanying them every time with different menaces. The threats, however, of this day ended in a determination to pronounce them slaves, and set them to work with the Portuguese and Spaniards in captivity.

Upon this treatment Mr. Read appeared very dejected, but full of resentment, without knowing how to unburden himself. It was upon this day that he sat down to write some letters to his friends, which testify the great extremities to which he was driven by these Barbarians, and that he had an intention of destroying himself.

In the mean time he received several fresh threats from the king, who insisted sometimes upon one thing and then upon another, without observing any rule or measure in his words or actions,

The next morning, the 18th of February, the king sent his attendants to Mr. Read with orders to carry him and all his companions away as slaves. Mr. Grosvenor was the first that was conducted out of the house to be made a favorite slave of the king's and to be always near his person. Mr. Read and his domestics were to follow, but they were
sentenced

sentenced to remain among the working slaves. Mr. Read was hardly got beyond the door of his apartment when he begged to return into it for something he had left, which the guards allowed him. As soon as he was entered, he locked the door after him, and in about a minute's time the report of a pistol was heard. His servants were much alarmed, and one of them ran after Mr. Grosvenor who had not been conducted very far from the house. Having got leave to return he knocked for some time at the door, but no reply followed from within. It was then agreed to break it open, which was immediately done, and Mr. Read was found dead upon the floor.

Upon having shut the door he had recourse to his pocket pistols, one of which he took in each hand, and applying that in his right to his head, fired it. As he stood by the bedside, his head fell first upon the sheets and left a bloody mark, but his knees, I ima-

M 4

gine,

gine, failing by degrees, dragged him down upon the floor, where he lay with his legs under the bed. Thus ended the unfortunate Mr. Read. The king was said to appear astonished at the news, but it does not seem to have much influenced his future conduct. On the contrary he has made slaves of all our men who were wrecked on his coast about three months and a half ago in the *Litchfield* and two other vessels, a frigate of thirty-six guns, and an ammunition ship, that were going with our fleet to the reduction of Gorée.

He then sent to the governor of Gibraltar to acquaint him that he considered the truce between him and the English as at an end, and that if they wanted their men they must be ransomed. Captain Barton, the captain of the *Litchfield* *, with the rest who escaped

* It may not, perhaps, be disagreeable to the reader, especially as there will be some little more hereafter of

escaped the fury of the seas, are now at Marrocco, and we are anxious to know how our government

of Barbary affairs, if I subjoin the following account of the loss of this ship and the behaviour of the Moors to our people, written by James Southerland, lieutenant on board the Litchfield.

“ The Litchfield left Ireland the 11th of November 1758, in company with several other men of war and transports under the command of commodore Keppel, and intended for the reduction of Gorée, The wind proved mostly fair till the 22d of November, then kept pretty constant from south-east to south-west, and our voyage was prosperous till the 28th. On which day at eight in the evening I took charge of the watch, when the weather turned out very squally with rain. We were then under our courses and main top sail. At nine it was exceedingly dark with much lightning, the wind varying from south-west to north-west. At half an hour past nine there was an extreme hard squall. Captain Barton then came upon deck and stayed till ten, leaving orders to keep sight of the commodore, and to make what sail the weather would permit, We saw the commodore at eleven bearing south, but the squalls encreasing, at twelve o'clock we were obliged to hand the main top sail under our courses.

“ At

government will proceed with regard to them. Indeed I flatter myself that this treatment

“ At one o'clock in the morning, November 29th, I left the deck in charge of the first lieutenant, the light which we took to be the commodore's bearing south right a-head, the wind west-south-west blowing very hard. I was awakened at six in the morning by a great shock and a confused noise of the men on deck. I ran to see what was the matter, thinking that some ship was fallen foul of us, as I had no thoughts of land being near us at the time, being then, by my own reckoning and that of every person in the ship, at least 35 leagues distance from it. But before I could reach the quarter deck, I was sensibly convinced of our dismal situation, by the ship's giving a great stroke against the ground, and the seas breaking all over us. Just after this I could perceive the land, which appeared to be rocky, rugged, and uneven, and was about two cables length from us. The ship lying with her broad-side to windward the sea broke entirely over her. The masts soon went overboard with very little assistance, and some men were carried off with them. It is impossible for any person but a sufferer to feel our distress at this time. The masts, yards and sails were hanging along side in a confused heap, the ship was beating violently upon the rocks, and the waves were curling up to a prodigious

treatment will draw upon the Moors the vengeance due to them. Not but that a war with

digious height, then dashing down with such force as if they would immediately have split the ship to pieces, which indeed we every moment expected. Providence, however, favored us greatly, for some of the large waves breaking without us, the remainder of their force came against our starboard quarter, and the anchors, which we cut away as soon as we struck, now assisted us in bringing the ship's head towards the sea. This gave us a glimpse of prolonging life, perhaps, a few hours, which was all at that time we could expect, when we beheld the rugged rocks, and thought every moment to be torn asunder by the fierce roaring surf. However, our scattered senses now recovered a little, and we saw it necessary to get every thing we could over to the starboard side, to prevent the ship from heeling off and exposing the deck again to the sea; and the waves for the most part breaking forward, we caught the opportunity, and got most of the starboard guns overboard, with what else we could come at. Some of the people, contrary to advice, were very earnest to get out the boats, however after much entreaty, notwithstanding the prospect of a most terrible sea, one of the boats was launched and eight of the best men jumped into her. But although at this time the sea was rather

with such a barbarous race of people is disagreeable, as much may be lost, but nothing gained;

rather abated, she had hardly got to the ship's stern than she was instantly whirled to the bottom and every person in her perished. The rest of the boats were soon dashed to pieces upon deck. We then made a raft with the davit capstain bars and some boards, which being done, nothing remained but to wait with resignation for the assistance of Divine Providence. The ship was so soon filled with water, that we had no time to get any provision up. The quarter deck and poop were now the only places we could stand on with any security, the waves being mostly spent by the time they reached us, owing to the fore part of the ship breaking them. At four in the afternoon, perceiving the sea to be much abated, as it was almost low water I was thinking to make an attempt of swimming on shore, as we had reason to imagine the ship would not withstand the violence of the next flood, for she now began to drop to pieces very fast. One of the people attempted it and got safe to land. There were numbers of Moors upon the rocks who seemed ready to take hold of any one, and beckoned much for us to come on shore. This at first we took for kindness, but they soon undeceived us, for self interest was their only view, as they had not the humanity to assist any body that was entirely naked.

gained ; however, in my opinion, the honor of our country demands some satisfaction.

With

naked, but would fly to them who had any thing about them and strip them before they were quite out of the water, wrangling among themselves about the plunder. In the mean time the poor man was left to crawl up the rocks if he was able, if not it was a matter of indifference. However the second lieutenant and myself with about sixty-five others got on shore before dark, but were for some time uncertain whether we had not made a wrong choice, for here we were left exposed to the weather upon the cold sand. To keep ourselves from perishing we were obliged to go down to the shore and bring up pieces of our wreck to make a fire. If we happened to pick up a shirt or handkerchief, and did not give it up to the Moors at the first demand, the next thing was a dagger offered to our breast. They allowed us, however, a piece of an old sail, which they did not think worth carrying off, and of this we made two tents and crowded ourselves into them, every one sitting between the others legs to preserve warmth and make room. In this uneasy situation, continually bewailing ourselves and our poor shipmates upon the wreck, we passed a most tedious rainy blowing night, without so much as a drop of water to refresh us, except what we caught through our sail-cloth coverings.

“ November

With regard to the authenticity of what I have related, I had it from an account written

“ November 30th. Fresh gales, hard squalls, and rain. At six in the morning we went down with a number of our men to assist our shipmates in coming on shore, and found the ship had been greatly shattered in the night. It being now low water, many attempted to swim to land. Some got safe, others perished. The people on board got the raft into the water, and about fifteen men upon it; but they were no sooner put off from the wreck than it quite overturned. Most part of the men recovered it again, but were hardly on before it was overturned a second time. There were only three or four that got hold of it a third time, the rest perished. During this interval a good swimmer brought a rope on shore with much difficulty, which I had the good fortune (by running hastily over the sharp rocks into the water,) to catch hold of, just as he was quite spent, and had thoughts of quitting it. Some people coming to my assistance, we pulled a large rope on shore with that, and made it fast round a rock. This we found gave great spirits to the poor souls upon the wreck; for as it was stretched tight from the upper part of the stern, it made an easy descent to any who had art enough to walk or slide upon a rope, with another above to hold by.

PORTUGAL, SPAIN, &c. 175

written by a merchant of Gibraltar, who
was partner to Mr. Read. This gentleman
endeavours

by. They continued coming by the rope till about eleven o'clock, tho' many were washed off by the impetuosity of the surf, and lost. High water coming on raised the surf still more, and prevented others from venturing at this time, as the ropes could be of no further use. We then retired from the rocks, and hunger prevailing, went about broiling some of the drowned turkeys, &c. which, with some flower baked upon the fire, made our first meal upon this barbarous coast. We found a well of fresh water about half a mile off, which very much rejoiced us. But we had hardly finished this coarse repast, than the Moors (who were now grown very numerous,) drove us every one down to the rocks; beating us if we lingered, tho' some were hardly able to crawl, to bring up empty bound casks, pieces of the wreck which had most iron about them, and other things. About three o'clock in the afternoon we made another meal on our drowned poultry, and finding this was the best fare we were likely to have, some were ordered to save all they could pick up upon the shore, others to raise a larger tent, and the rest were sent down to the rocks to look for people coming on shore. The surf greatly increasing with the flood, and breaking upon
the

endeavours to excuse his laying violent hands upon himself by divers reasons; but as the facts

the fore part of the ship, she was now divided into three pieces. The fore part was turned keel up, and the middle part was soon dashed into a thousand bits. The fore part of the poop fell likewise at this time, and about thirty men with it, eight of whom got safe to shore with our help, but so bruised, that we despaired of their recovery. Now was to be seen a most melancholy prospect. Nothing but the after part of the poop remained above water, with a very small part of the other decks, on which our captain, and about one hundred and thirty more remained, expecting every wave to be their last; for the wreck seemed as if it was going instantly to throw them all to the bottom, and overset upon them. Every shock threw some off, few or none of them came on shore alive. During this distress the Moors laughed very loud, and seemed much diverted when a wave larger than common threatened our poor tottering countrymen with destruction. Between four and five o'clock the sea was much decreased with the ebb. The rope being still secure, they began to venture upon it. About five we beckoned as much as possible for the captain to come upon the rope, as this seemed to be as good an opportunity as any we had seen, and many came

facts conclude here, I shall leave you to make the determination upon them your own judgment suggests.

L E T-

came safe with our assistance. Some told us that the captain was determined to stay till all the men had made the best of their way to land, or, at least, had quitted the wreck; which bravery of his, tho' we could not but admire, we could not but deplore. However, we still continued to beckon for him, and just before it was dark we saw him come upon the rope. He was close followed by a good able seaman, who did all he could to keep up his spirits, and assist him. As he could not swim, and had been so long without any refreshment, with the surf hurling him violently along, he was no longer able to resist the force of the waves, and had unavoidably perished, if a wave had not thrown him within reach of our ropes, which he had barely the sense left to catch hold of. We pulled him up, when after resting a little time upon the rocks, he came to himself, and walked up to the tent; desiring us still to assist the people in coming on shore. The Moors wanted to have stript him, tho' he had nothing on but a plain waistcoat and breeches, if we had not shewn a little spirit on this occasion, and opposed them; upon which they thought proper to desist. The people

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continued

L E T T E R XXIII.

LISBON, MARCH 27, 1759.

I promised you some further account of the affair of the jesuits in these countries. But as a deep cloud seems still to overwhelm the whole

continued to come on shore pretty fast, tho' many perished in the attempt, but they plainly saw their case was desperate, as the wreck must inevitably fall to pieces with the next flood. The Moors growing tired with waiting for so little plunder, would not let us stay after them upon the rocks, but drove us all up. I then, with the captain's approbation, went and made humble petition by signs to the basha or commander, who was in his tent with many other Moors, dividing the valuable spoil. He understood me at last, and gave us leave to go down, sending some Moors with us. We carried fire brands along with us to let the poor wretches upon the wreck see we were still there ready to assist them. I dare say several perished while

whole affair, I will wait another week in hopes of its dissipating. With regard to the nobles

while we were gone, for want of our help; for we had been but a few minutes upon the rocks when one came very near to us before we saw him. And this was frequently a circumstance of as much horror as any we met with; for just as we had been able to perceive them, they have been washed from the rope, and dashed to death against the rocks close by us. About nine at night, finding no more would venture upon the rope, as the surf was greatly increased, we retired to our tent with hearts full of sorrow; leaving, by the last man's account, between thirty and forty souls upon deck. We now thought of flowing every body into the tent, and began by fixing the captain in the middle. We then made every person lie down upon their sides, as taking up less room than upon their backs. But after all many enjoyed easier lodgings in empty casks.

“ December 1st, moderate and fair weather. In the morning the wreck was all to pieces upon the rocks, and the shore was quite covered with lumber. The people upon the wreck all perished about one in the morning, as we learnt from one who was tossed up and down for near

nobles I think there is nothing more to add. Some of them, indeed, have been relegated
to

two hours upon a piece of it, and at last thrown upon the rocks senseless; but he recovered, and got to the tent by day light, tho' greatly bruised.

“ The Moors were very busy in picking up every thing of value, but would not suffer us to take the least trifle, except pork, flower and liquor: of all which we secured as much as we could in the tent. In the mean time, others were enlarging and raising a second. Some were trying to make bread, and others cleaning the drowned flock. At one in the afternoon we called a muster, and placing the men all in rank and file, we found our number to be two hundred and twenty. A hundred and thirty were drowned; among which number was the first lieutenant, the captain of marines, his lieutenant, the purser, gunner, carpenter, and three midshipmen. We now returned public thanks to Almighty God for our deliverance.

“ December 2d, moderate and fair weather. At five in the morning we found George Allen, a marine, dead close by the tents, which we suppose was by drinking
brandy

to Angola, and other parts of the Portuguese dominions; and the remainder are still
in

brandy among the rocks, as several had got drunk that way, tho' we used what means we could to prevent it. There were two men whipt by captain Barton's orders, for their insolence, which was highly necessary, both to convince the Moors and our own men, that they were still under our command. We subsisted entirely upon the drowned stock, with a little salt pork to relish it, and the flower made into cakes. We issued these provisions regularly and sparingly, not knowing at present whether we should have any thing from the Moors or no; as they still continued to be very troublesome, and wanted to rob us of the canvas which covered our tent. Their basha seemed to take our part, but at the same time winked at their villainy, and shared in the plunder. He employed us in saving all the iron we could from the pieces of the wreck. At two in the afternoon there arrived a black servant, sent by one Mr. Butler at Saffy, (a town about thirty miles off,) to enquire into our condition, and give us assistance. The captain wrote him a letter, the man having brought us pens, ink and paper: and the finding there was one offered us help, greatly raised our drooping spirits.

in prison. You tell me you are wondering how the people here live without houses. It is true

“ December 3d. Moderate weather, sometimes raining. In the morning we assembled the people, and read prayers of thanksgiving. In the afternoon a letter came from Mr. Butler, with some bread, and a few other necessaries. We heard, likewise, that one of the transports and a bomb tender were wrecked about three leagues to the northward of us, and a great many men saved.

“ December 4th. Moderate weather. The people were employed in picking up pieces of sail cloth, and what else the Moors would permit them. We distributed the people into messes, and served the necessaries we received the day before. They had bread and the flesh of the drowned stock. In the afternoon we had another letter from Mr. Butler, who is factor to the Danish African company, and himself a Dane. We had likewise another letter at the same time from one Mr. Andrews, an Irish gentleman, a merchant at Saffy. The Moors were not so troublesome as before ; most of them going off with what they had got.

“ December 5th. Squally weather, with rain. As the drowned stock was all expended, the people were employ-
ed

PORTUGAL, SPAIN, &c. 183

true the earthquake and fire destroyed most of them; some, however, were so little damaged

ed at low water in gathering muscles. At ten in the morning Mr. Andrews arrived, and brought a French surgeon with him, and some medicines and plaisters: of which many of the bruised men stood in very great need. Thomas Tompion, seaman, died in the afternoon, by his bruises mortifying. Several men were employed in rolling casks of water from the well,

“ December 6th. Squally, rainy weather. We served one of this country blankets to every two men, and pam-pooles (a sort of slippers,) to those who were most in need of them. These supplies were brought by Mr. Andrews. The people now were forced to live upon muscles and bread, as the Moors had deceived us, and not returned, tho' they promised to supply us with cattle.

“ December 7th. Dirty squally weather, with rain. The people were employed in gathering muscles and limpets. The Moors began to be a little civil, for fear the emperor should punish them for their cruel usage. In the afternoon a messenger arrived from the emperor, who was at Sallee, with orders in general to the people to sup-

amaged as to be easily repaired and rendered habitable. They have likewise run up temporary

ply us with provisions. Accordingly, they brought some poor bullocks and lean sheep, which Mr. Andrews purchased for us. But at this time we had no pots to make broth in, and the cattle were scarce fit for any thing else.

“ December 8th. Squally weather, with heavy rain. The people were served this morning with mutton and bread, and employed in rolling water from the well.

“ December 9th. Little wind, with showers of rain. In the morning we saw several dead bodies cast up by the sea upon the rocks. The people employed in bringing up the oak timber, &c. &c. from the sea side, as the emperor had sent orders to save whatever might be of use to his cruisers.

“ December 10th. Light airs, and fair weather. In the morning we got every thing ready to march to Marracco; the emperor having sent orders to that purpose, with camels to carry the lame and baggage. At nine we set out with about thirty camels, having got all our liquor with us, divided into hogshheads for the conveniency of carriage.

porary edifices, besides an immense quantity of barracks, or huts as we might call them in

carriage. At noon we joined the crews of the other two transports, which had been wrecked as well as ourselves. Every person was then mounted upon camels, except the captain, who was furnished with a horse. We never stopt till seven in the evening, when they procured us only two tents, which would not hold one third of the men; so that most of them lay exposed to the dew, which was heavy and very cold.

“ We now found our whole number to be three hundred and twenty eight, including officers, men and boys: with three women and a child, which one of them brought on shore, holding it by its cloaths in her teeth.

“ December 11th. Fair pleasant weather. We now continued our journey in the morning, attended by a number of Moors on horseback. The alcaide who had the conducting of us provided several of the officers with horses. We did not travel straight towards Marocco, being informed we must meet the emperor at Sallee. At six in the evening we came to our resting place for the night, and were furnished with tents sufficient to cover all the men.

We

in England. The reason of these buildings being erected out of the town is owing, as I think

We found our conductors seldom stopped from sun-rise to sun-set; that being the custom of the country, with which we were obliged to comply.

“ December 12th. Fair weather. At five in the morning we set out as before, and at two in the afternoon saw the emperor's cavalcade at a distance. At three a relation of the emperor's, named Muley Adrissé came to us, and told the captain it was the emperor's orders he should that instant write a letter to our governor at Gibrakar, to send to his Britannic majesty, to know whether he would settle a peace with him or no. Captain Barton sat down directly upon the grass and wrote a letter, which he gave to Muley Adrissé, who went and rejoined the emperor. At six in the evening we came to our resting place for the night, and were well furnished with tents, tho' very little provision.

“ December 13th. Pleasant weather. We continued here till the men were a little refreshed, of which they stood much in need. They brought us more provisions than the day before. This morning lieutenant Harrison, commanding

think I have already mentioned, to no person being allowed to build quite on fresh
within

commanding officer of the soldiers belonging to lord Forbes' regiment, died suddenly in the tent. In the evening, while we were burying him, the inhuman Moors disturbed us by throwing stones and mocking us.

" December 14th. Pleasant weather. Our men recovered greatly with the rest we had here. They were furnished with earthen pots to make broth in.

" December 15th. The people were mostly employed in cooking, as we were now pretty well supplied with beef. This morning we found the Moors had opened lieutenant Harrison's grave, and stript the cloaths from off him.

" December 16th. Fair weather. We continued our journey as before. At five in the afternoon we came to our resting place, pitched our tents, and served the people with provisions. Here some of the country Moors used our people ill as they were taking water from a brook. The Moors would always spit in the vessel before they would let them take any away. Some of us upon
this

within it; as all the streets are to be formed according to a certain plan, which the court has

this went down to inquire into it, but were saluted with a shower of stones. We run in upon them, beat them pretty soundly, put them to flight, and brought away one who thought to defend himself with a long knife. This fellow was severely punished by the alcaide who had the conducting of us.

“ December 17th. Fair weather. In the the morning we gave the people a dram each, as had been usual, and continued our journey. At four in the afternoon we came to our resting place for the night. After some difficulty we got tents, and a proper supply of provisions.

“ December 18th. Fair weather. This morning we proceeded on our journey as before, and at three in the afternoon came to the city of Marocco, without having seen one dwelling house in the whole way. We here were insulted by the rabble as we passed. At five o'clock we were carried before the emperor, surrounded by five or six hundred of his guards. He was on horseback before his palace gate, that being the place where he distributed justice to his people. He told captain Barton that
he

has not yet issued out, nor does it seem at all certain when it will be settled.

In

he was neither at peace or war with England, and that he would detain us till an ambassador came from thence to settle a firm peace. The captain then desired that we might not be used as slaves. He replied hastily, that we should be taken care of. Then we were directly thrust out of his presence, and conveyed to two old ruined houses, where we were shut up all night amidst dirt and innumerable vermin of several sorts. Mr. Butler, whom I mentioned before, being here upon business, came and assisted us, and procured liberty for the captain to go home with him to his lodgings. He likewise sent some blankets for the officers, with which we made a shift to pass the night pretty comfortably, as we were much tired and fatigued.

“ December 19th. Cloudy weather, blowing fresh, with rain. This morning we found our centry was taken off, so that the people had liberty to go out. They sent us moreover some bread, and towards evening some beef, but we had no conveniencies as yet to dress it, and the people were all day employed in cleaning out the rubbish and destroying the vermin as well as they could.

“ Decem.

In the mean time spring is approaching with hasty steps in these countries, and I shall shortly be setting out for Spain.

L E T.

“ December 20th. Little wind and rain. This morning some of our baggage was brought to us, with the necessities we had upon the road. Our baggage had been rummaged, and the captain's trunk robbed of nineteen ducats, several rings, and silver buckles, a watch and other things, mostly belonging to the officers, and which we had with difficulty saved from the wreck. Mr. Butler and his partner Mr. Dekon did every thing in their power to assist us. The people had now pots to boil their victuals, and were in no want of bread.

“ December 21st. Cloudy weather with rain at times. This day the emperor sent money to the captain to support his men, at a blanqueen a day each, or two pence sterling. But as that was too little, captain Barton got money of Mr. Butler to make it up two blanqueens, or four pence sterling, which he managed himself to the best advantage, allowing them one pound of beef each, with broth, and one pound of bread each every day. At nine this morning the emperor sent for the captain and every officer to appear before him. We immediately repaired to his palace,

L E T T E R XXIV.

LISBON, APRIL 1, 1759.

I Will now, tho' it is still possible to do it but lamely, give you what I know concerning

palace, where we remained waiting in an outer yard two hours. In the mean time he was diverting himself in seeing a clumsy Dutch boat rowed along by four of our petty officers. About noon we were called and placed in a line about thirty yards before him. He was seated in a chair by the side of a pond, with only two of the chief alcaides with him. When he had viewed us some time, he ordered the captain to come forward, and after asking him a good many questions concerning our navy, and where our Squadron was going, we were also called before him by two or three at a time, as we stood according to our rank. He asked most of us some very insignificant questions, and took some to be Portuguese, because they had black hair, and others to be Swedes because they had white

ing the jesuits, for I believe it is in vain to expect things will become clearer at present.

You

white hair, judging none of us to be right English, except the captain, the second lieutenant, the ensign of marines and myself. But we assured him we were all English, so that crying *ben*, he gave a nod for our departure. To this we returned a very low bow, and were glad to get our old ruined mansion again. Our number of officers at this time was thirty from highest to lowest.

“ December 22d. Fair weather. Captain Barton provided the people with stuffs for frocks and trousers, and mats and pillows to lay upon, with every other necessary that could be got. They were all employed in making themselves clothes in the best manner they could. .

“ December 23d. This morning the emperor sent a message to the captain, with orders, if any of his men should be guilty of a crime, to punish them in the same manner as if they were on board his ship. But supposing they should quarrel with the Moors, they must stand to the Moorish laws, which are very severe against Christians. This day Henry Nicholas was punished for getting drunk and abusing his officers.

“ De-

PORTUGAL, SPAIN, &c. 193

You remember what a noise the affairs of that society in America made in Europe. When Spain

* December 24th. The people were very well satisfied with their provisions. This being Sunday we assembled them all and read prayers as if we had been on board. It is to be observed we had but one bible amongst us all, which was a present from Mr. Andrews before mentioned, and tho' we had no clergyman, captain Barton never omitted a single Sunday to have service performed, either by the second lieutenant or myself.

“ December 25th. Being Christmas day, prayers were read to the people as usual in the church of England. The captain received a present of some tea and loaves of sugar from one of the queens, whose grandfather had been an English renegado.

“ December 26th. This afternoon we heard the disagreeable news, that the emperor would oblige all the English to work, the same as the other Christian slaves, except the officers that were before him on the 21st instant.

“ December 27th. Cloudy weather with rain. At seven this morning an alcaide came and ordered the people
O. all

Spain had agreed with Portugal to exchange the extensive country of Paraguay against their

all out to work, except those that were sick, and by intercession eight were allowed to stay at home every day as cooks for the others. This they took by turns throughout the whole number. They returned at four in the afternoon. Some had been employed in carrying wood, some in turning up the ground with hoes, and others in picking weeds in the emperor's gardens.

“ December 28th. Cloudy weather. All the people went to work as soon as they could see. They were allowed to sit down an hour and a half in the middle of the day, but had many a stroke from their drives, tho' they were doing their utmost to deserve better usage. Captain Barton was striving all that was in his power to get this remedied, which by the assistance of a friend of ours, one Juan Arbona, we were in hopes of doing. This person had been eight years in Africa, and was taken under English colours, notwithstanding he had a pass signed by general Blakeney at Minorca. The emperor had kept him for two or three years past near his own person, and put much confidence in him. At four in the afternoon the people returned. Two of the marines had a hundred bastinades

PORTUGAL, SPAIN, &c. 195

their settlement of Nueva Colonia, the jesuits who had originally been sent thither as missionaries,

hastinados each, for behaving in a disrespectful manner while the emperor was looking at their work.

“ December 29th. Cloudy weather. The people went to work as before. They were now allowed a hot breakfast of a sort of porridge sweetened with honey before they set out. Their work was sometimes to till the ground, at other times to carry wood or stone for building, and such other things as slaves are commonly employed in.

“ December 30th, captain Barton received a kind letter from the emperor, with his leave to ride out or take a walk in his gardens with any of his officers.

“ As we were now got into a settled way, and as most of the same things daily revolved, I shall only remark any extraordinary occurrences.

“ About the beginning of February two foldiers died, within a few days of each other. The emperor enquiring the reason of this, was told by Juan Arbona, that it was occasioned by their catching cold for want of cloaths.

missionaries, defended the former, as they do still, against the united forces of Spain and

Upon this he was directly ordered to give every English slave as much white linen as would make him two shirts.

“ Upon the 22d of March a Spaniard having some words with a Moor, who had first used him ill, was carried before the emperor, who being in a bad humour that day, ordered the poor fellow to be knocked on the head directly with a hoe, and the dead body to be exposed for two days afterwards. During this time the Moors and Jews shewed their disposition by dashing the body to pieces with stones as they passed. We now received letters from Gibraltar which gave us hopes of speedy relief. Our men was not so healthy as at first, some having got the flux and others fevers.

“ On the 26th of May we received a letter from the governor of Gibraltar, with an offer of one hundred and seventy thousand dollars as a present to the emperor for our freedom. He seemed very well pleased with this, and promised to send immediately for the ambassador at Gibraltar, who was appointed to transact these affairs.

“ June 15th, a courier, by name Toledano, a Jew, set out with the emperor's letters to the ambassador.

“ The

and Portugal, refusing to yield it up to either, and some of them became generals to the

“ The 2d of July the emperor set out from Marocco with an army of six thousand men, which, by report, was soon to be augmented to thirty thousand. He went to subdue some part of his dominions that would not acknowledge his sovereignty.

“ About the 10th, seventy mens heads were sent from the camp, and placed against one of the great gates of the city, besides several alive, who were capitally punished. The emperor about four or five days journey from Marocco had some smart skirmishes.

“ It was now the middle of September, when we were assured of the long expected arrival of our ambassador at Sallee with two of his majesty's ships, the Guernsey and Thetis. The emperor was acquainted at his camp with the money for our redemption being on board ; but elated with his success by land and sea, and having nothing to fear till the next spring, he only trifled with us by making extravagant demands. Our ambassador at last very prudently left the coast, having lost two anchors in Sallee road.

the Indians, who blindly followed persons that had already enslaved their consciences, and

“ The latter end of September the emperor returned to Marocco after having finished his campaign successfully.

“ He at last, tho’ not before the beginning of February, resolved to send Toledano a third time to Gibraltar (he had sent him a second time the preceding October). He ordered him, as his final determination, to accept of two hundred thousand dollars for all the English subjects in his dominions, and twenty-five thousand dollars for all other pretensions, which terms were agreed to by the governor.

“ In consequence of this, on the 11th of April our men left off going to work, and on the 12th in the evening the emperor sent for captain Barton, the second lieutenant and myself, and told us we were going next morning, and that he would make peace with our nation if they were willing, if not he did not care. He then gave a nod for our departure, which we most cheerfully accepted with a very low bow and went away.

“ Accordingly next morning, being all ready before sun-rise, we waited till nine o’clock for the mules and camels.

and whom they deemed saints. This caused the first noise about them in Europe, and pope Benedict XIV. nominated cardinal Saldania, patriarch of Lisbon, reformer and visitor of this affair with the most ample powers. The cardinal suspended the jesuits from preaching and confessing, however, I suppose for political reasons, they were ac-

cused. When all were come, we proceeded upon our journey attended by a *balha* and one hundred foldiers on horse-back. Captain Barton was now consulted how fast he chose to travel and when to stop. In the evening we pitched our tents in the form of an exact oval, the captain's closing one end and ours the other.

“ We got to Saltee the 22d of April, and pitched our tents in an old castle, from whence we had the happiness once again to see our royal master's ships ready to receive us. But when we viewed the bar of the harbour covered with a large roaring surf, we began to think our embarkation would probably prove tedious, which accordingly happened. At last, however, with hearts full of joy we got on board the *Guernsey*, our ransom being paid to the Moors at the same time they released us out of their hands.”

cused publicly of no other crimes than that of trading in the Portuguese dominions, a thing forbidden to any friar, tho' the jesuits certainly carried on an extensive commerce. Upon their being suspended from the *cure of souls*, the father general of the order sent a letter or memorial to Rome. It was written after the new pope's (Rezzonico) accession to the throne, and couched in the following terms, tho' I have shortened the length of the original,

“ Most holy father,

“ The general of the society of Jesus,
“ prostrate at the feet of your holiness,
“ humbly represents the extreme grief and
“ sorrow that all the order experiences up-
“ on account of many rumours scattered
“ about the kingdom of Portugal, which
“ attribute crimes of the most heinous
“ nature to some of them living in the do-
“ minions of his most faithful majesty.

“ This

“ This court having obtained a brief from
 “ Benedict the Fourteenth of pious memory,
 “ by which he named reformer and visitor
 “ with the most ample powers the cardinal Sal-
 “ dania, in virtue of it the said most eminent
 “ patriarch has published an edict, wherein
 “ he declares our whole order universally
 “ guilty of negotiation. Besides this his
 “ eminence has suspended from preaching
 “ and confessing not only all the jesuits in-
 “ habiting the city of Lisbon, but all in
 “ general throughout these dominions, not-
 “ withstanding the laws by which bishops
 “ are deprived of this prohibitive power
 “ against any whole order of religious per-
 “ sons without first consulting the holy see.
 “ And to add to the severity of this prohibi-
 “ tion, not only notice was given to us of
 “ the said suspension from preaching and
 “ confessing, but the edict was ordered to
 “ be fixed up publicly in all the churches of
 “ Lisbon. Of all this the father general
 “ has in his custody authentic testimonies,

“ The

“ The religious jesuits of Portugal have
 “ suffered orders like these, so offensive to
 “ the honor of the whole society, with a
 “ humility and submission worthy of them.
 “ They doubt not of the right intention of
 “ his most faithful majesty, nor of that of
 “ the most eminent cardinal and other mi-
 “ nisters under him, yet still they dread lest
 “ these may have been artificially pre-occu-
 “ pied by calumnious persons, as they can
 “ never persuade themselves, that any of
 “ their body are guilty of such heinous
 “ crimes as the world attributes to them,
 “ especially as they have not been convicted
 “ of them in any court of justice, nay have
 “ not even had the liberty of producing
 “ their defences and allegations.

“ And even supposing they were guilty
 “ of the heinous crimes so unjustly laid to
 “ their charge, yet still they hope offences
 “ of so high a nature are not common to all,
 “ nor to the major part of their order, tho’
 “ they

“ they all behold themselves comprehended
 “ in one promiscuous punishment. And
 “ finally, were all the jesuits residing in his
 “ most faithful majesty’s dominions guilty
 “ from the first to the last, which cannot
 “ be supposed, yet still our order begs to be
 “ heard with candour, and more especially
 “ those who, in all other parts of the world,
 “ strive with most indefatigable diligence to
 “ promote, as far as lies in their power, the
 “ honor of God and the salvation of their
 “ neighbour.

“ Now the discredit and damage, which
 “ attends such aspersions, are extended to all
 “ the order, an order which abhors even the
 “ name of those crimes which are imputed
 “ to them, and would not willingly do any
 “ thing that might offend either the ecclesi-
 “ astical or civil power.

“ It is upon this account that the mem-
 “ bers of it wish with the greater ardor to
 “ see

“ see themselves justified from calumnies of
 “ which they esteem themselves undeserv-
 “ ing.

“ The superiors of the order have only
 “ begged that they at least might be privately
 “ informed of the guilty persons, and of the
 “ proofs against them, and that they would be
 “ the first in cutting off all those abuses that
 “ may have been introduced ; but the hum-
 “ ble supplication and offers of the supe-
 “ riors were not thought worthy of atten-
 “ tion.

“ Care must be taken lest, instead of a
 “ profitable reformation, rise be given to
 “ unprofitable disturbances, which, indeed,
 “ are much to be feared at present in the
 “ countries beyond sea. All that cardinal
 “ Saldania acts of himself, we have not the
 “ least doubt of his performing in the best and
 “ most just manner, but we are, with reason,
 “ afraid, that the persons he may appoint
 “ to

“ to transact affairs abroad should, through
 “ ignorance or ill will, imbroil matters still
 “ more than they are at present.

“ The general, therefore, of the society
 “ of Jesus, as well for himself, as in the
 “ name of all the order, implores your ho-
 “ nours to attend to this their humble en-
 “ treaty, and in consequence of it, they
 “ supplicate you to use your authority, and
 “ to act as your high understanding shall
 “ think best, to the end that those who are
 “ innocent may be indemnified by a justifi-
 “ cation of their actions, as also to provide
 “ for the just and profitable amendment of
 “ those who may be guilty, and, in short, for
 “ the credit of the whole order, that they
 “ may with the greater honor promote the
 “ service of God, and the salvation of souls,
 “ serving the holy see with all thankfulness,
 “ and imitating the pious zeal of your ho-
 “ nours, for whom the general as well
 “ as the order shall pray to the Omni-
 “ potent,

“ potent, to shower upon your holiness all
“ the blessings of heaven for many years to
“ come, to the joy and prosperity of the
“ universal church.”

The answer from Clement the Thirteenth to this memorial was very strong against the jesuits. He says that the late pope had appointed cardinal Saldania as visitor, that what he had done was right, nor was it doubted but he had sufficient reasons for his proceedings; that as for the credit of the order, it was their business not to have lost it by committing actions unworthy of it. That with regard to the decree prohibiting them from preaching and confessing, it appeared to be just, as persons who did not take a proper care of their own souls, seemed very unfitting to have those of the faithful committed to their charge, and of whom, in that case, it might be justly said, *medice, cura teipsum*. That their objecting to the persons whom cardinal Saldania might nominate to transact

transact the affairs beyond sea was considered as ridiculous, and calling in question the propriety of their judges before they knew who those judges were to be. As to their desire that the court of Rome should interfere in this business, the pope assured them that it would look very particular if, after his predecessor had appointed cardinal Saldania to manage the affair, he was to snatch from that prelate's hands the authority conferred upon him, and that without any sufficient reason; besides which, it was certain that the court of Portugal would very unwillingly suffer a cause begun in their states to be transferred to Rome.

It was these severities, which the court of Portugal is said to have used its utmost underhand endeavours to get shewn towards the jesuits, together with more open insults which the same court offered them, that determined their order to blow up the flame of the assassination of the king, being incited partly

208 LETTERS FROM

partly by revenge, and partly by interest, as hoping their affairs would go on better under a new reign. I have in this paper told you a little what the jesuits did before the fatal stroke, and in my next I will endeavour to inform you what has been done to them since that time, but clouds and darkness intercept my path.

The comet said to be foretold so many years ago by Sir Isaac Newton for the year 1758, has at length appeared in these climates. The Windsor man of war has brought a French East Indiaman outward bound, into this port.

LET.

L E T T E R XXV.

LISBON, APRIL 8, 1759.

AFTER the fatal attempt of the third of September was put into execution, nothing was immediately done to the jesuits; however, about the time of the nobles being taken up, those of that society in Lisbon were confined to their convents; and after the execution of the nobles, a strict order of confinement was issued out against all the jesuits in the king's dominions. The orders are given in a letter from the king himself, which he addresses to one of his magistrates. It is as follows.

“ To Pedro Gonfálvez Cordeiro Pereira
 “ of our council, chancellor of the Casa
 “ de Supplicação and our friend,
 “ I the king greeting.

P

“ The

“ The pernicious machinations, scanda-
“ lous seditions, revolutions, and declared
“ wars excited by the religious persons of
“ the society of Jesus in these kingdoms
“ and their dominions, and which are at
“ this time manifest to all Europe, gave us
“ just and indispenfible motives of com-
“ plaining of their proceedings to the holy fa-
“ ther Benedict the fourteenth, then president
“ of the universal church of God; hoping
“ that his wisdom, without proceeding to
“ extremities, might be able to repress those
“ great disorders. But the Jesuits so far
“ from being sensible of our religious cle-
“ mency, grew the more insolent, and in-
“ stead of submitting humbly to the pun-
“ ishments that were inflicted upon them,
“ dared with arrogance never before seen or
“ heard of, to deny the truth of those
“ crimes that were alledged against them.
“ Not content with this, they have lately
“ published their insolent excuses, and have
“ proceeded to other steps yet more infa-
“ mous

" mous and rash, by having pretended to
 " alienate our loyal subjects from that love
 " and fidelity to their sovereign, by which
 " the Portuguese above all other civilized
 " nations have heretofore been distinguished;
 " perverting to this most horrid end the
 " sacred mysteries of our religion, and by
 " means of them communicating and spread-
 " ing abroad the poisonous contagion of
 " their sacrilegious calumnies against us,
 " and against our government, till they
 " arrived at last to form within our very
 " capital the horrid conspiracy, treason and
 " parricide, of which they as well as the
 " other criminals have been convicted. In
 " proof of which adjoining to these pre-
 " sents we send you a copy of the original
 " trial signed by Sebastian Joseph de Car-
 " valho of our council, and secretary of
 " state for domestic affairs; and to this trial
 " you are to give the same credit as if you
 " had been present at the original sentence
 " passed the twelfth of this present month

“ of January in our court of high treason.
“ The public necessity, therefore, obliges
“ us to make use of that power which God
“ hath put into our hands, to maintain and
“ defend our royal person and government,
“ as well as the public repose of our faith-
“ ful subjects, against the insults and incon-
“ ceivable rashness of this perfidious order.
“ However, we feel due sorrow in not being
“ able to dispense with proceeding to these
“ last remedies, in which we shall confine
“ ourselves to what the kings our most re-
“ ligious predecessors, as well as other
“ princes and states in Europe, equally ca-
“ tholic and pious, have done in cases of
“ treason and rebellion committed by eccle-
“ siastical persons even of the highest digni-
“ ties, and in cases less flagrant than the
“ present.

“ We therefore command you (tho’ not
“ upon account of our own authority, but
“ only from the indispensable and natural
“ obliga-

“ obligation we lie under to consult the
 “ defence of our own royal person and
 “ government, as well as for the tranquillity
 “ of our dominions and subjects, till we can
 “ recur to the apostolical see,) as soon as
 “ you shall receive these presents to order a
 “ general sequester to be made of all the
 “ effects, rents and pensions which the
 “ aforesaid Jesuits may enjoy throughout these
 “ realms ; naming what assistants you think
 “ requisite for the transaction of this affair,
 “ and forming inventories of the effects
 “ found in each of the religious houses ;
 “ making a schedule of the rents and pen-
 “ sions certain or uncertain belonging to every
 “ one of the said religious houses ; which
 “ rents and pensions are, as they become
 “ due, to be locked up in coffers with three
 “ keys ; one of which is to be given to the
 “ trustees chosen by you, another to the
 “ corregidors of the Comarcas, or their
 “ deputies, and a third to the scriveners of
 “ the Correição ; keeping within the said
 P 3 “ coffers

214 L E T T E R S F R O M

“ coffers the books of revenues and expences
 “ which shall occur after the beginning of
 “ the execution of this order. - When you
 “ shall have put into execution all these
 “ sequestrations, you shall give in to our
 “ secretary of state a general specification,
 “ written in a good and legible character, of
 “ the annual revenues of all and of each of
 “ the said religious houses, together with
 “ the sum total of their respective amounts.

“ Now as it is not our intention that, in the
 “ churches, ministers should be wanting to
 “ the divine functions, much less that lega-
 “ cies left for masses and other holy works
 “ should not be complied with ; our will is,
 “ that out of the beforementioned coffers
 “ there be taken by your order those sums
 “ of money that may be wanted for the pre-
 “ parations of masses, celebrations of divine
 “ offices, and complying with the wills of
 “ testators who have left sums of money to
 “ pious uses. Our pleasure also is, that you
 likewise

“ likewise take out of the said coffers the
 “ money necessary for the maintenance of
 “ the Jesuits, all of whom we command to
 “ retire to their respective convents and
 “ houses; and to each of whom we grant
 “ for their subsistence the sum of one tes-
 “ toon a day, (about sixpence English,) for
 “ besides the abounding proofs we have al-
 “ ready had with regard to the theological,
 “ moral and political errors, which this
 “ order has endeavoured to spread about the
 “ city with such pernicious and detestable
 “ effects, we have received certain intelligence
 “ that they now pretend with more anxious
 “ diligence to corrupt the provinces with
 “ the same false and abominable doctrines.
 “ We order, moreover, that all lay brothers
 “ and coadjutors spiritual that may be scat-
 “ tered separately up and down the country
 “ be likewise apprehended and conveyed
 “ (all their papers being first seized) under
 “ sure custody, and by the shortest way, to
 “ their principal convents and houses in the

“ cities or notable villages that are nearest
“ to where they shall be taken up, in which
“ places they shall be confined with the
“ other Jesuits, and lie under a similar ex-
“ press prohibition of going out, or of com-
“ municating with our secular subjects.
“ We command you also to take care that
“ military guards be always in their sight,
“ who shall oblige them exactly to perform
“ this seclusion, until we order the contrary.
“ And for the execution of these our orders,
“ we command that you be assisted by the
“ military power, which you may require
“ at pleasure, ordering the generals and per-
“ sons charged with the command of our
“ armies, as well in the respective provinces
“ as at this court, to aid and assist you with-
“ out any limitation, as often as you shall
“ require it in our royal name, with liberty
“ to command any number of troops to
“ march, which you or the magistrates ap-
“ pointed by you shall think necessary, as
“ well to the places where the sequesters
“ are

PORTUGAL, SPAIN, &c, 217

“ are to be made, as to the convents and
“ houses where the jesuits are to be con-
“ fined; to the end that those guards may
“ secure the aforesaid houses, and inspect
“ the strict seclusion that the Jesuits are to
“ observe in them, as is done in this capital.
“ We judge it unnecessary to use any urgent
“ expressions to excite your diligence in this
“ weighty affair, as we are conscious of the
“ great zeal, fidelity and rectitude which you
“ have always manifested in our royal ser-
“ vice.

“ Given at our palace this 19th day of
“ January, 1759.

“ I the King.”

I shall set out to night at ten o'clock for
Seville, but shall only cross the river Tagus,
to be ready in the morning for proceeding
upon my journey,

L E T.

L E T T E R XXVI.

BEJA, APRIL 12, 1759.

ALL that we know further about the jesuits than what I have mentioned, is, that Cordeira Pereira punctually executed the orders received from the king, which I sent you in my last. All the jesuits are confined to their respective convents, and a strict guard placed over them. Some of the principals, as, indeed, I said before, are in prison, of whose destiny we are entirely ignorant. In the mean time their cause is examining in the court of Rome, and I imagine after things are settled there, the determination will be published concerning the whole body, which most people think will be totally exterminated out of Portugal, and the order of the
pious

pious schools introduced in their stead. This, tho' little, is all we know, and I believe time alone will discover thoroughly the proceedings of this court. They would willingly, I think, bring some jesuits to public execution, but they seem afraid of openly attacking an order so formidable in the Roman catholic religion, as the minds of the vulgar are strongly prepossessed in favor of every thing that has the outward appearance of sanctity.

I will now give you some description of my journey from Lisbon to this place, where I have been very kindly received into the house of a gentleman to whom I brought a letter. As this is the holy week, which is not proper for travelling, especially in Roman catholic countries, I shall stay here from this present Thursday till Monday next, when I shall continue my route towards Seville. I left Lisbon upon the 8th in the evening (having, as I said in my former letter, to cross the river Tagus) that I might be ready to ascend

ascend my chaise early in the morning, and continue my journey. The place I was to lay at is called Aldea-galega, about twelve English miles from Lisbon. As the moon shone bright my little voyage was rendered very agreeable by her rays. I was pulled along with eight oars, and being assisted by the tide glided swiftly through the water. The city of Lisbon looks extremely pleasant from the Tagus, as the houses are situated upon little hills, and rise gradually one above another, which forms a most delightful view. The brightness of the moon rendered the town more conspicuous, yet her beams were not strong enough to display the horrors of it, and make the ruins visible, which in the day time look melancholy from the spot in which we then were. The river in this place is between two or three leagues over. Upon our landing we found the inn full of travellers, which put us to more distress for accommodations than we should otherwise have suffered even in this inhospitable

table

table country. At about three o'clock in the morning the postilion hurried me up, tho' it was past four before we set out. Upon my coming into the open air the first thing that struck my eye-sight was the comet, who seemed to scowl inauspiciously upon my journey. I suppose he must now be visible to you inhabitants of Great Britain. Whether it be the same predicted by Sir Isaac Newton, its course alone must determine. This comet appears to us nearly in the east, with its tail pointing westward. Our mules had not drawled us on far, before that beautiful rudeness which is the harbinger of the rising sun appeared, and shortly after the sun himself emerged above the horizon and gilt with his rays that vast plain we were then travelling over. The country was as ugly as ever eye beheld. Flat to the last degree, except, indeed, some distant mountains which lay near Lisbon. The soil, a deep white sand, which permitted nothing to grow, but those sorts of shrubs which flourish upon the most barren

barren heaths in these countries. The reflection from it gave redoubled power to the sun, which being now very high, made us sensible of its force, tho' the heat was tempered from time to time by an agreeable cloud, which, however, are not very frequent in these fine climates. About ten o'clock we arrived at our baiting place, which was the first house we had seen since we left Aldea-galega. Our inn had, indeed, three or four other buildings to keep it company, but every thing else was nearly as wild and desert as ever. As soon as my chaise stopt I dismounted. In England and other countries the landlord and landlady come out and make their compliments to the strangers, in Spain and Portugal things seem quite different, for you must go and pay your respects to them. To comply then with the custom of the country, I went into the kitchen, and pulled off my hat in great form to a lady who was sitting by the fire side, tho' it was burning hot, and whose looks told me she was the mistress of the

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the house. She got up and returned me a bowing courtesy with all the solemnity imaginable. In short, many compliments passed on both sides, in which I endeavoured to change my Spanish into broken Portuguese. The respect I shewed got me a little fish for dinner, but the appearance of it, and of the little ugly black woman who brought it in, gave me no desire of tasting it, and I should have made a more meagre dinner than any of the Roman catholics, if it had not been for our own provisions, upon which I accomplished a hearty meal. As there was a little pine grove nearly opposite to the inn, I entertained myself after dinner with walking in it, and enjoying the few trees of which it was composed, as the whole morning I had hardly seen a bush. Upon my return I found the inn crowded with the travellers who lay at Aldeagalega the evening before. They were Italians, and I thought they were to keep to the left hand to go to Madrid, but they had made a little round for the sake of seeing

seeing Evora the capital of Alentejo, the province in which I am at present. Our conversation turned with justice upon the very bad travelling through Spain and Portugal, till the appearance of my chaise interrupted it. We never thought of meeting again, as I was to go to Silveres that night, and they only to Ventas Novas two leagues short of it, and accordingly we took leave of each other, with reciprocal wishes of a good journey. I proceeded in the afternoon through a country not much better than what we had experienced in the morning, however we did meet with two or three houses, at one of which I bought a large cargo of oranges, which in the meanest cottages are to be found in the greatest perfection. Upon our coming to Silveres we met with nearly the same treatment as in the former inn, with a supper nearly as bad, which, however, I had not finished, when I heard two chaises stop at the door, and upon looking out of the window, I saw my new acquaintances the
Italians

Italians getting out of them. They had come on farther than they intended, and I spent a very merry evening with them, till midnight informed us that it was time for travellers to retire to rest.

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LET.

LETTER XXVII.

LA PUEBLA, APRIL 19, 1759.

I AM now at the first little town in the Spanish dominions, and a poor little place it is; but to bring you here in due order I must continue my narration.

The Sun had no sooner risen upon us at Silveres than I was separated from my new companions, and pursued my route towards Beja. They struck off to the left for Badajos. We had still, however, another chaise in company, in which was a Portuguese gentleman, who was carrying his daughter to take the veil at Viana; but they were so very reserved, it was impossible to have much communication with them. Indeed, one of the characteristics of the Portuguese
seems

seems to be an aversion, or I may say hatred, to foreigners. We dined at a little village called St. Jago, from whence we were conducted thro' a very ugly country to Viana, the place where I lay that night. Tho' the country from Lisbon to Viana had resembled what I wrote to you of near Aldeagalega, yet just by that town it was prettily interspersed with groves of olive trees, situated upon little rising hills. Our inn and accommodations we still thought very bad, but nothing to be compared with what I have since experienced in Spain. Here you find nothing in the inns, if, indeed, there are any, but a very dirty room, and what you eat or drink must be brought with you, or you are obliged to run about the place and buy it yourself. The intended nun and her father left us at Viana, nor will I detain you longer in a town where there is nothing to divert you; and was hardly any thing for me to eat.

The reason of so great a want of provisions, was our having been overturned just in entering Viana, which had blended no small quantity of sandy dirt with our stock. Some priests, however, according to the hospitality of the country, gave us part of their provisions, which with what I got at the inn made up a poor supper. The next day we dined at Cuba, a little village not above twelve miles from Beja. Every thing was very good here, as they had been previously informed of my coming by my Beja friends. A comfortable nap after dinner, according to the fashion of southern countries, being finished, we set out, and arrived at Beja above an hour before sun-set. It is situated upon a hill which continues gently rising for a great many miles every way round it. This gives a very extensive prospect from every part over a fruitful corn country, the only one of that kind of any extent, I believe, in the kingdom; and which is almost as destitute of trees as our downs, except, indeed,

deed, a few olive groves on that side towards Seville. I met with many civilities from the inhabitants of this town, or city, for so you must call it to please them. The first day I passed there my landlord's mother would not appear at table, on account of the tyrannical custom in Portugal, which renders it indecent for a lady to be visible when there are strangers in the house. However, by strong intercession, she came down the day after, without any of those charms which might make her appearance of consequence.

As an exact journal of what I did at Beja must be tiresome, I will only tell you that I had there an opportunity of seeing much more of the Portuguese than all the time I remained at Lisbon. One evening I spent very agreeably at a gentleman's country house about three or four miles from the place, and just in that part where the olive trees are situated. An alcove placed under some orange trees, and by the side of a little

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pond, gave us an opportunity of enjoying the fresh breezes that blew and tempered the heat of the Sun, which we have already experienced much greater than at any time in England. A profusion of sweatmeats and other good things were set before us, to which we added oranges and sweet lemons that we gathered ourselves from the impending branches. As we were walking afterwards round the garden, a large serpent thwarted our way. I believe he was a yard and a half in length. I had never seen one so big, and, indeed, he was a very fine sight. When he found we intended to kill him, he put himself in a posture of defence. He drew his tail and hindermost parts in a circle under him, and raising his head and chest a foot above the ground, darted out his tongue, and seemed to spit venom at us. But stones soon dispatched him, and extended him at his length upon the ground,

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As it was the holy week, some part of the little time I was at Beja was occupied in seeing Roman catholic functions and ceremonies. They are much more superstitious in those things here than in Italy, and add cruelty to superstition, in permitting the penitents to flog, and torment themselves in other ways, about the streets. The farther you get from Rome, the more such kind of penances are intermixed with religion; and learning seems to banish them entirely from her empire.

As to the Portuguese, they are still fifty years behind other nations. The great cloak thrown over the left shoulder hides every thing. And yet these very people, who owe the comforts of life to foreigners, as their European and Indian dominions produce little more than wine, oil, oranges and gold, begrudge the money paid to other nations for their corn, cloaths, and other more necessary commodities.

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L E T.

L E T T E R XXVIII.

SEVILLE, APRIL 23, 1759.

AFTER a very fatiguing journey I am at length arrived at this city. But to bring you hither in due order I will continue my narration, the thread of which I shall take up from my leaving Beja, as nothing farther occurred worth mentioning during my stay there.

The postilion had no sooner conducted me out of town, than we beheld the road we were to travel open for many miles before us, for, as I told you in my last, Beja stands upon an eminence. We soon got into a very pretty country interspersed with olive trees, the same I have already spoken to you about, and the only one of the kind all round Beja.

but

but I soon had a different occupation for my thoughts than considering the beauties of nature. Through the negligence of our postilion, for the road was not extremely bad, our chaise wheel gathering upon a right hand bank, sent us and our baggage into a ditch upon the left. I crawled out of the miserable vehicle as well as I could, but the difficulty consisted in getting that upright again. Just at this time a country man fortunately passed within a few yards of us, but, to give you an idea of the Portuguese character, he never offered to stop or give us the least assistance.

Animated, however, at last by the offer of some money, he lent an awkward hand, and after much trouble, (being forced to untie the trunk and all the rest of the baggage,) the chaise stood once more upon its two wheels, and we continued our journey. The roads were now very bad indeed, or I might perhaps with truth say, there was no road at all

all till we arrived at the Guadiana. The Guadiana is a river which in a great many parts divides the Portuguese territory from that of Spain, but not just in that place I was to pass it, where there is above a days journey further in the kingdom of Portugal, till you come to a little river called Chanfas, which indeed is a kind of arm of the Guadiana, and separates the two dominions by its stream. As there was no road down to the Guadiana but over plowed grounds, you can hardly imagine there was any bridge to pass it. Instead of a bridge there stood a fine antique ferry boat, with two men in it, who appeared of equal antiquity with the bark, and who, upon seeing us come down to the river, conveyed their vessel to our side. Here we were forced again to untie all our baggage and take off the mules, in short, lose much time before we could get into the boat, and at least as much in getting out of it again.

As

As the way from Beja to the Guadiana had been nearly a constant descent, from the Guadiana to Serpa, the place where I was to dine, was almost all up hill, and some part very steep. The winter torrents had so spoiled the road, which they pretended to have once been here, that the chaise was obliged to quarter between clefts almost big enough to swallow half of it. You may imagine I did not keep my seat during all these precipices, especially after having so lately had the specimen of an overthrow. I walked up the steepest part on foot, and as we had set out late in the morning, and had lost much time in our overturn and passing the river, it was now near two o'clock, and the sun struck upon us with inexpressible heat. It was near four o'clock before we got to the inn at Serpa, so that it was impossible to continue our journey after dinner, especially as we wanted to provide ourselves with a guide, for the chaise-man knew nothing of the way, nor could we get any other at Beja.

Indeed,

Indeed, I did very wrong ever to come to Beja in my route from Lisbon to Seville; but I was over-persuaded by my friends there, who told me it was the shortest and best way. It certainly is the shortest; but I do not doubt if I had gone by Badajos I should have arrived much sooner and more easily at Seville. But these reflections were now too late, so that I applied my thoughts to finding out a good guide, and for that end determined to apply to a gentleman for whom I had a letter. But as I felt myself fatigued, I deferred my visit till I had eaten a mouthful, and afterwards, instead of making it, laid myself down upon a couple of ordinary mattrasses extended upon the floor, where I slept till sun-set,

LET.

L E T T E R XXIX.

SEVILLE, APRIL 29, 1759.

AFTER having reposed myself at Serpa, my landlord, who was a Spaniard, conducted me to the person I was recommended to, who promised to procure me a guide that knew every inch of the way over the mountains. Upon my return I found two sentries with halberts in their hands planted at the street door of my inn. The landlady came running out and informed me, that the governor of Serpa was come to make me a visit. I sincerely believe, however, that under this mask of civility he wanted to be informed who I was that was leaving the kingdom ; and indeed the confused state of Portugal might well justify orders of that nature from the government. Upon my coming into the
room

room he addressed me with a profusion of compliments. As we had no chairs, I advanced a joint stool for his excellency to sit upon, and we began a conversation in which I laboured hard to make myself intelligible. After staying about half an hour he arose, and telling me he had importuned me with that visit only to know if it was in his power to do me any service, he marched off with his military attendants. * * * * *

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LET.

L E T T E R XXX.

SEVILLE, MAY 3, 1759.

I Spent my evening at Serpa with the gentleman to whom I was recommended. His family consisted of a wife and two pretty girls between eighteen and twenty. Upon my coming in I found the old lady seated in a low chair, and her two daughters upon two round mats placed upon the ground, where they were sitting like taylors. It is said, the common people of Portugal have but newly introduced the custom of chairs, which the great resort of foreigners to Lisbon has given them an idea of. It is very odd sometimes upon entering into country houses to see the good ladies all sitting upon the floor like so many Turks; and, indeed, I believe these are some remains of Moorish

Moorish customs, as those infidels were a long time in possession of Portugal and of Spain likewise; especially in the part where I am at present. It is for this reason, that the Spanish and Portuguese languages abound with Moorish words, and I dare say, the great number of guttural syllables in the former were derived from that origin. But not to detain you any longer in Serpa, I will pass over my bad fare that evening, and place you with me in the chaise the morning after, into which I mounted before it was light. In going out of the town I stooped at my friend's door, who gave me a letter to an acquaintance of his that lived at Corte de Pinto, where I was to lay that night. After many compliments and many embraces, which the Portuguese always burden you with, popping their head from the left to the right shoulder, I at last got rid of my very good, but very ceremonious friend, and the chaise once more rolled on. We were five persons in all, I and my
servant

servant made two, the postilion three, the fourth was our guide on foot, and my landlord of the day before made the fifth; who being to go to a place some miles in Spain, chose to walk it with the guide, rather than at some other time travel thro' all that barren country alone.

I forgot to tell you that our postilion had taken with him from Beja the longest largest broadest broad sword that ever was beheld, much too heavy for himself to carry; and which was deposited in a sort of place made on purpose to suspend it, upon the left front of the saddle of the mule he rode. Here it hung like a scarecrow, for it was altogether as rusty as large, and the point had mouldered its way through the bottom of the scabbard. But now, with the addition of our two men on foot, we had acquired two other sabres of the same kind, which being likewise too heavy to carry, one was adjusted upon the mule that bore

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the shafts, and the other fixed behind the chaise upon my trunk. These, besides the arms I had, consisting of four pistols and two swords, formed our military furniture. You may wonder to hear me talk of pistols, having told you, I think, in my letters about the affairs of Lisbon, that all fire arms had been taken away from the Portuguese, and consequently, prohibited to be carried openly. Let it suffice for me to say, that at the same time I got my passport from the secretary of state for foreign affairs Don Lewis da Cunha, I got a licence for carrying pistols included.

Equipped and accompanied in this manner, I went on thro' a most miserably desert country indeed, where no mortal seemed to have set his foot. It was hilly, tho' the hills were not very high, but then so barren, that it hardly afforded a tree; however, there was plenty of undergrowth, and many shrubs, some of which smelt extremely aromatic,

matical, for lavender, thyme, and balm of gilead, if I mistake not, and some other plants of this nature grow wild in these countries. Road there was none, for as very few chaises pass the way I came from Lisbon to Seville, every passenger makes a track of his own. Having travelled on in this manner for not a few miles, sometimes getting out of the chaise for bad precipices, and at others being able to sit in it, we at last arrived to the place where we were to dine. You may think it was an inn, but you would be mistaken. It was a little knowl of trees standing upon a rising ground. Here we alighted from our chaise, pulled out our provisions, and sat ourselves down upon the grass. In the mean time, the postilion took off the mules, and supported the two shafts of the carriage upon the low branch of a tree. After he had done this, he tied his mules one on one side of the chaise, and the other on the other; and made a manger of the place where you set

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your feet, which you will find will answer that purpose very well, if you represent to your idea an English open post chaise with two wheels, or a one horse chair. After the two beasts were adjusted we sat down in a ring, and began making our rural meal in all peace and quietness.

LET.

L E T T E R XXXI.

SEVILLE, MAY 6, 1759.

AFTER we had finished our romantic dinner under the knowl of trees mentioned in my last, the postilion hung pieces of paper upon some of the branches, in token of his having made a repast there, as well as to direct him and the guide in their way back, for it is now time to inform you that our new guide knew nothing of the road. While the mules were putting too I was inclined to take a walk, but was desired not to separate myself from the rest for fear of wolves or other accidents, with what foundation I cannot say.

Every thing being at length in order for our departure, we proceeded on our journey.

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to Corte de Pinto, the most miserable village I ever beheld, situated in the midst of that wild country. This was the place where we were to pass the night, to an inhabitant of which I had brought a letter from Serpa. The person not being at home, but at a farm a mile or two off, I was obliged to dispatch a messenger to him, and in the mean time sat down upon a stone bench at the door of the hut which belonged to my unknown friend, and which, he not being there, was locked up. Tho' I call it a hut, it was one of the best edifices in the place. The postilion during this interval took off his mules, and turned them grazing upon a sort of green before the door, a common custom in these countries, where their cattle very often live at the expence of the public. The whole parish, men, women, and children, soon gathered all about us, and seemed to stare as if we had fallen from the stars. A trifle of charity I gave to a little girl who had
got

got a distaff fastened into her girdle, according to the fashion of these countries, and was spinning away very diligently, and which I told her was for her industry, caused many others to appear in a short time equipped in like manner, and form a spinning party round about me. It was now near sun-set, and I was anxious about not seeing my friend, but at last he appeared striding over the green with the person I had sent for him. Compliments having passed, which he returned in an honest plain country manner, he opened his hut, and my goods were carried into it. He then with authority, for he seemed to command all the village, ordered a country man to kill a kid, and get it dressed for supper. In the mean time we entered into conversation, which I was obliged to maintain as well as I could. He said it was above four years since a chaise had passed that way, and that the road next day would be much worse than what I had passed. For my farther consolation the guide

R 4

came.

came and confessed his ignorance of the way, excusing himself, however, upon his having just heard that the winter torrents had spoiled the road he used to go, and that none but a country man born upon the spot would be able to conduct us through the very bye and round about course we must take. I was forced to acquiesce, and a second guide was hired, which was the less disagreeable to me, as in those terrible roads where every moment you may expect overturns, an assistant or two on foot is very useful, not to mention their being a kind of defence to those who pass through such very desert places. Having settled these preliminaries, and our kid being ready, we sat down to our patriarchal supper, which, notwithstanding the animal's being fresh killed, was far from the worst I had made, and was succeeded by a good hard but clean country bed. My host in the morning would not accept of anything for the trouble and expence to which I had put him. The same assemblage of country

try

try people flocked about my chaise as the evening before, however, at last on we moved, and left the rustic multitude gazing behind us.

LET.

340 LETTERS FROM

L E T T E R XXXII.

SEVILLE, MAY 10, 1759.

FROM Corte de Pinto to the Spanish territory is not above three miles, and those not the longest. The two kingdoms are separated in this place by a little river, as I mentioned before, called Chanfas. Besides this boundary of water there is a chain of hills, tho' not very high, called the Sierra Morena, which also divide Spain from Portugal for some way, and afterwards run on into Spain. You will find in Don Quixote this hilly, barren country, renowned for many of his adventures, and, indeed, it seems calculated for the mansion of desperate knights-errant. Our company was the same as before, except the addition of our new guide,

guide, who was leading us through briars and brambles, where there was not the least sign of any person's having passed before. However we at last arrived at the river Chanças, which tho' it had not rained for some time, was higher than it ought to be. There had been a dispute the evening before, whether we could go over or no, which had been determined in the affirmative, and so indeed we did, but not without some difficulty.

We had no sooner set our feet upon Spanish ground than all snuff boxes were opened and our Portuguese and foreign snuff given to the winds. They are so very strict here that a pinch is enough to send a common person to the galleys and forfeit all his goods. I do not see the policy of this government in so entirely excluding all foreign snuff from the kingdom. They are, without doubt, in the right to give all the advantages they can to their own manufactures. But
might

might not a high tax be of equal advantage to their administration, as that upon French wines to ours? To prove how strict the Spaniards are with regard to this commodity, I will just mention a case that happened lately. Two Irish lads, of which nation there are a great many of the Roman catholics, who send their children to be educated here, coming from Cadiz to Seville, one of them thoughtlessly happened in an inn to pull out a snuff box, in which were two or three pinches of rappee. A soldier who saw it took the snuff box from him, with the loss of which they contented themselves, thinking all was over. But they were afterwards taken up at Seville and thrown in prison, where they staid till interest and money at length delivered them from durance. What renders these countries more rigorous is their farming out all these sorts of things. The government receives so many thousands a year from such a person, who is generally the best bidder, to whom they grant the licence of being

being sole manufacturer of some commodity, as for example of snuff, spirituous liquors, silks, cloths, &c. These tenants must be defended by government, or else none would find it worth while to pay such large annual sums, to reimburse which with interest they often oppress the subject. This also may be the reason why other commodities of the same kind highly taxed, are not admitted into the kingdom, as it would create much confusion to the *financiers*.

But to return to our caravan that was now moving gently along upon the confines of Spain, which as yet entirely resembled what I had just passed of Portugal in barrenness and the nature of the country. After we had gone on for about a couple of hours the postilion stooped under some trees, and told us it was breakfast time. Accordingly we pulled out our provisions, and were enjoying them, when a Spaniard joined us.

He

He was a country man and had a dog and gun to kill some game in those dreary wastes. The different look of him from the Portuguese, the different dress and different language struck me, how in the space of a mile or two there could be such a change in the inhabitants. I have heard people say that the Portuguese and Spaniards are very much alike in their customs and every thing. I cannot say I have found them so. It is true in their appearance they are both black, but then there is a majesty generally in the look of a Spaniard which the Portuguese seem greatly to want. The Spanish language too is much more sonorous than the Portuguese, nor do the great quantity of gutturals in it displease me. Besides, I think, I like the Spanish dress better than the Portuguese. It consists, indeed, of a cloak thrown a second time over the left shoulder, but of a different make, colour and air from that of the Portuguese. This, with a sort of net over their hair,

hair, and a great flapped hat, compleats the common dress of an inhabitant of Andalusia, the province in which Seville is situated. Not but that Spaniards put on coats sometimes, however, it is rare at this distance from Madrid, except among the military gentlemen. Some of them are very curious when they dress out. Being used to their cloak, they find themselves unhappy without it. Their cloaths set upon them in a very awkward manner, their waistcoat gets up to their chin, and their sword seems to run through their haunches. In Cadiz, however, the flapped hat is forbidden to be used, as it is a very populous town, and the government has a mind to see the inhabitants' faces as they walk along the streets. For really this same dark coloured cloak with a flapped hat, is as total a disguise to the men as the veils are to the women.

I have

I have made so long a digression that I seem almost to have forgotten my journey; but I will bring you back to it in my next paper.

LET-

L E T T E R XXXIII.

SEVILLE, MAY 14, 1759.

OUR breakfast with the hunting Spaniard and my dependents being finished, we continued our journey. I had this morning another overturn, but received no hurt. About a mile before we stopped to dine, we came to a place similar to which, I believe, was never yet passed by wheels. Besides briars and brambles, it was so very uneven and so steep a descent, that we were forced to tie a rope round the chaise, and hold it up with all our force. At last we got to the bottom, and crossed a little river, the name of which I do not remember. As soon as we were arrived on the other side, we adjusted ourselves under some trees, and dined as the day before, only with this advantage, that

S

we

we had water just by us for ourselves and the mules to drink ; but the day before we had been obliged to travel some miles after our meal, before we could get any. Wine, indeed, we had in plenty, but that alone is a bad allayer of thirst ; and it had taken so strong a taste of the goat-skin bottle it was contained in, that to me it was extremely disagreeable ; tho' some people in England, not knowing whence it proceeds, say they like the taste of the *Boracha* or skin vessel. We were hardly set down upon the grass when a shepherd joined us, whom we made our guest, as we had done with the man in the morning, and which is, indeed, always the custom of these parts of Spain ; where every person will eat your provision without any ceremony, and give you theirs without any reluctance.

Nothing very remarkable happened to us. In the evening we got quietly to the little village where we were to lay that night. The
name

name of it is La Puebla. Upon our arrival at the inn, I was obliged to conform to the Spanish custom of sending all about the place to buy every little thing we wanted. All the necessaries of life are very dear in Spain, which must be the case of a country that abounds in gold, and nothing else. The good effects of industry and commerce cannot be stronger proved than by considering the great quantity of gold and silver the Spaniards have in the West Indies; and yet, at home, in many cases they want common conveniences. Gold alone can never make a nation plentiful, on the contrary, that very gold must go to other kingdoms to buy what the indolence of the inhabitants denies them in their native country. We ought, however, by no means to attempt to open their eyes. Their blindness is of too much service to England, not to wish them to continue in it. When you consider the two countries, what I have said will appear stronger. The climate of Spain would pro-

S 2

duce,

duce, they say, every sort of commodity necessary for the wants or luxury of life, that of England is too cold for many ; and yet, the balance of commerce, notwithstanding long wars, during which the French introduced their manufactures, is infinitely in our favor ; and I dare say they receive twice as many goods from us as we from them.

* * * * *

L E T.

L E T T E R XXXIV.

SEVILLE, MAY 17, 1759.

NO T to keep you continually in inns, I will omit what trivial occurrences happened to me in La Puebla, where the custom-house people tumbled about all my things, mistaking tooth powder for snuff; and will seat you with me in the chaise upon our journey the next morning. I will, however, tell you, that before we could get away, the postilion was obliged to give security for returning the same road he came with his chaise and mules. I do not know the reason of this law, which seems calculated for the inconvenience of coachmen, without any immediate benefit to the state; and, indeed, the poor postilion found a gentleman at Seville, who would have taken his chaise

S 3 quite

quite to Lisbon by Badajos, but not the way I came. He was certainly in the right, as it was only a road for breaking necks.

After we had travelled on for about five or six hours from this first dirty village in Spain, we came to our baiting place, which was in the open fields as before, but with this disadvantage, that we had not a single tree to shade us. The sun struck upon our heads with unremitting fury, and when we got into our chaise, it felt like an oven. In our progress we met a patrol of guards, who roam in parties about these wilds, to hinder any counterband trade between Spain and Portugal, which however, is every day carried on by the Spaniards. I have heard them reckoned the boldest smugglers of any nation; and they say, that during our last war with Spain, they kept up a continual underhand trade with Gibraltar, bringing provisions and other commodities to the garrison; for which some of them were hanged
at

at Cadiz. The patrol of guards at first passed us, but soon after faced about, and ordered us to halt. They were ten in number, five of which with great pomp ranged themselves on one side of the chaise, and five on the other. The head or captain then asked us with a magisterial voice, if we had got any counterband goods, but upon shewing the credentials given us at the custom-house of La Puebla, they suffered us to proceed. A little before sun-set we arrived at the small town which was to harbour us that night. Its name, if I mistake not, is Sibiro. We had much trouble from a bridge situated at the entrance of it. It seemed good at the beginning, but when we came towards the other side, for it was very long, one of the arches was broken down. As there was no turning about, we were forced to back the mules all the way. We at last, however, crossed the river, and got to the inn, which was so very bad, that rather than lay upon the mattrafs they gave me,

or upon the best straw they had, I chose to spend the night upon my trunk, with a chair to support my head. I got away as soon as possible from this dreadful mansion, in which, however, I had the advantage of joining company with some honest farmers who were going to Seville. We dined under some sycamores that grew near a depopulated village, with old Moorish walls. Nor were our accommodations better in the evening than heretofore; but I have already given you too many descriptions of bad inns,

LET-

L E T T E R XXXV,

SEVILLE, MAY 21, 1759.

I A M now come to the last day of our tedious journey from Beja to Seville, and which, indeed, was as laborious as any ; for we had not got many miles before we found the road too narrow for the chaise to proceed, and were forced to lift it over many banks. It was also twice overturned this morning, but I had the good fortune not to be in it. Besides all this, we were once stuck in a slough, out of which, I believe, we should never have been able to get, if we had not been assisted by some countrymen's mules. However, we at length came into a greater road, and arrived without any farther accident to St. Lucar, of which name there is a port not far from Cadiz, at the mouth of the river

river Guadalquivir; but the place where I dined was only a large village of the same denomination. Upon our drawing so near Seville, our fare was much mended, and we found, at least, a possibility of purchasing part of what we wanted. As we had all an inclination of getting to our journey's end as soon as we could, we set out in the face of the burning sun; and after having gone about ten miles, the famous city of Seville stood open to our view. It lies in a valley surrounded by little hills at some miles distance, and towards the south-east the horizon is terminated by very high mountains, which separate this part of Andalusia from Granada. But hereafter I may tell you more of Seville, and shall now only add, that we all entered it in good health, tho' much fatigued.

* * * * *

L E T-

L E T T E R XXXVI.

SEVILLE, MAY 24, 1759.

SEVILLE, the ancient Hispalis, is the capital of Andalusia, which, indeed, you know as well as myself. The Spaniards reckon it one of the finest cities in the world, and tell you, that who has not seen *Sevilla*, has not seen *Meravilla*, or a wonder. It certainly is a very handsome town, tho' far from equal to their idea. However, its ancient Moorish walls, which have been lately repaired and painted, make as romantic an appearance as any thing I ever saw. There are few English in this city, but a great many Irish Roman catholic merchants, some of whom are very rich. The true born Spaniard has generally too high a notion of himself to apply to commerce, and much less

less to the menial offices of life, which are mostly performed by French or Italians. During this war, indeed, some of their ships have found their way to London.

Since my residence at Seville, I have always gone into the country for two or three days at the latter end of the week. The place I go to is called La Puebla, not the dirty town I passed thro' in coming to Seville, as you may imagine from its distance, but another more clean little village of the same name upon the banks of the Guadalquivir. (the ancient Betis). I here enjoy a little fresh air and country exercise, in which the vice-consul generally bears me company. You may wonder, perhaps, how there comes to be a vice-consul at so little a village, but I must inform you, that very few ships bound for Seville, come higher up the Guadalquivir than La Puebla, upon account of the danger of the navigation. In many places there are banks of sand, and I never
saw

PORTUGAL, SPAIN, &c. 169

law a river wind more in all my life ; besides which there is a law that falls very hard upon masters of ships, and this is, that supposing their vessel has the misfortune to run on ground, they are immediately put into prison, till, at their own expence, they have either got her off again, or broke her up, and carried her away by pieces, in order that the channel should not remain incumbered. Now in time of war there are, indeed, fewer ships ; but I have heard, that during peace here are sometimes no less than twenty English vessels come in a year to load fruit for London. Many are at present forced to make use of other stratagems, and get what they can under Spanish colours ; with other contrivances of the same nature, too common to those who seek only their private emolument.

L E T.

L E T T E R XXXVII.

SEVILLE, MAY 29, 1759.

AS I am now working hard in perfecting myself in the Spanish language, I must, consequently, read a good many Spanish books, and I have now before me one which has entertained me exceedingly. It is Feijoo, a modern Spanish author, who writes with much sense and elegance in this very noble language, which I esteem the finest at present spoken in Europe. As for some particular sentiments now and then upon religion, the Spaniards are so bigotted to their own, that these must be expected. Tho' perhaps, if there were no inquisition in Spain, they would not be quite so virulent, as they now may think it more easy to get a licence for the printing of works,
if

if they speak against protestants. I need not acquaint you that they must have a number of licenses before they can print any of their productions. One from the inquisition, that there may be nothing against the church; one from the civil magistrate, that there may be nothing against the state; and others from other people, as for monks from their particular order, and so on. These restraints check the genius of the Spaniards, for naturally they have to be sure very great talents. But to return to my reading Feyjoo, who is still alive, and is a Benedictine Friar. He calls his works a confutation of all common errors. Most of them, indeed, that he takes in hand are so common, that any person of the least education has already got rid of them; however, his style is very agreeable, and he now and then runs off into entertaining digressions. Notwithstanding he includes in his work the confutation of such puerile opinions as those of ghosts, witches and apparitions.

apparitions, he rises sometimes to the most learned subjects, and treats of different points of mathematical and philosophical knowledge. The subject of what I have been just now reading is, whether any nation is superior to others in genius. After having weighed separately all nations in the four divisions of the world, he says he thinks not, and that there is no real difference in their natural capacities, but that the being more or less barbarous, is owing to their better or worse education ; however, if, says he, there be any (I found these words with pleasure at the end of his essay,) I should give the preference to the English nation. I will translate you his own words at length, as deserving to be read by every British subject.

“ If, however, I were to give a preference to any of the European nations above the rest in subtlety of genius, I should side with Heideger, a German author, who
 “ gives

“ gives that advantage to the English.
“ Great Britain undoubtedly, since learning
“ has been introduced into that island, has
“ produced a great number of authors of
“ the first class. It would be too tedious
“ for me, were I only to mention those,
“ which she has given to the order of Bene-
“ dictine and Franciscan monks. I will
“ mention, however, three in each of these
“ two societies, who shine like stars of su-
“ perior magnitude. The first, viz. the
“ Benedictine order enjoyed the venerable
“ Bede, the renowned Alcuin, and the fa-
“ mous Suisset. The second boasts of
“ Alexander of Hales, the subtle Scotus,
“ and his pupil William Ockham. Car-
“ dano makes the following reflexion upon
“ these two last geniuses, whom he puts in
“ the rank of the most refined in the world,
“ and with regard to whom he remarks,
“ Barbaros * ingenio nobis haud esse infe-

T riores,

* "That even the barbarians are not inferior to us in
"talents, since Britain, tho' divided from the whole
"and

“ riores, quandoquidem sub brumæ cœlo
 “ divisa toto orbe Britannia duos tam clari
 “ ingenii viros emiserit.”

“ Nor must I omit mentioning, that
 “ when other nations in Europe hardly
 “ knew what mathematics were, these two
 “ orders had very celebrated English mathe-
 “ maticians in them. Roger Bacon was
 “ famous in that of the Dominicans. He
 “ performed so many wonderful things as
 “ to be suspected of magic. Some authors
 “ say he went to Rome to clear himself
 “ from that aspersiion. The common peo-
 “ ple invented the same story with regard
 “ to him, as they tell of Albert the great,
 “ that he had constructed a brazen head
 “ which answered him any questions.
 “ Oliver * of Malmesbury was no less fa-
 “ world, and placed under a hemisphere of winter, has
 “ produced two such illustrious men.”

* Perhaps William.

mous

“ mous in the Benedictine order. John
 “ Pilsey reports that he found out the art
 “ of flying. But he says that projector
 “ never had the good fortune to get above a
 “ hundred and twenty yards at a time.
 “ However, no person else ever did so
 “ much.”

In my next paper I will continue you
 some more of what Feyjoo says with regard
 to the English nation. At least, it shews
 you the idea the Spaniards hold us in.

L E T T E R XXXVIII.

SEVILLE, MAY 31, 1759.

AND now to continue you what Feyjoo says with regard to the English nation. His works continue to entertain me exceedingly.

“ In physics, England has given more
“ original authors than all other nations
“ put together. Even the French, notwithstanding their zeal for the credit of
“ their nation, confess the English to have
“ the advantage over them in philosophical
“ talents. I may say without rashness, that
“ whatever advances have been made in
“ physics this last century, they have been
“ all owing to chancellor Bacon. It was
“ he who broke through the narrow bounds
within

“ within which philosophy was confined
 “ till his time. It was he who threw down
 “ the columns upon which the *non plus ultra*
 “ with regard to natural knowlege had been
 “ engraved for so many ages. The learned
 “ Peter Gassendi was nothing but a faithful
 “ disciple of Bacon. What he had said in
 “ short, Gassendi repeated in his excellent
 “ philosophical writings in a more extended
 “ manner. What Descartes has worth any
 “ thing in his works, was all taken from
 “ Bacon. After him comes Boyle, and
 “ the most subtle Sir Isaac Newton, who
 “ were also great originals, not to mention
 “ Locke and Digby, and a great many
 “ others. But the liveliness of their genius
 “ has been attended with a misfortune
 “ which Bacon himself remarked. For
 “ since they once abandoned the true path
 “ with regard to religion, the greater life
 “ their reasoning has, the quicker they
 “ bewilder themselves. However, a Sir
 “ Thomas Moore has not been wanting to
 T 3 “ that

“ that island, since heresy deformed it, a
 “ man no less famous for his learning than
 “ for his firmness in the catholic religion.
 “ Besides what I have already said, I have
 “ remarked that the English in their philo-
 “ sophical works give you an open explica-
 “ tion and free narrative, void of all artifice,
 “ of what they have found in their experi-
 “ ments, a thing which is not so frequently
 “ to be met with amongst authors of other
 “ nations. Particularly, it is a pleasure to
 “ see in Bacon, Boyle, and Sir Isaac New-
 “ ton, as well as in Sydenham the physi-
 “ cian, how, without boasting they tell
 “ you what they know, and without blush-
 “ ing confess what they are ignorant of.
 “ This is the very characteristic of sublime
 “ geniuses. What a pity, that the fatal
 “ cloud of heresy should overwhelm them
 “ with such melancholy darkness,”

These are all the remarks Feyjoo makes
 in an essay of his, entitled an intellectual
 chart

chart of the whole world. In a private letter to a friend he continues the subject a little, in which he attempts to recant what he had spoken in praise of the English nation. After having said that all arts and sciences have been continually migrating about the world, and that all nations either have or will enjoy them, he adds.

“ These reflections make me now doubt
 “ of the idea I used to hold before, of a
 “ certain nation being superior to all the
 “ rest of Europe in intellectual perspicacity.
 “ But why should I be afraid to name it?
 “ I speak of the English nation. With
 “ regard to the modern English, there is a
 “ palpable reason why there ought to be
 “ more great men among them in natural
 “ knowledge than in any other nation
 “ whatever, and yet without their exceeding
 “ others in natural genius. The reason is that
 “ they apply themselves more, or, at least,
 “ more commonly to study. Monfr. Rolin,

“ so well known in the world by the many
“ and good histories he has written, confess-
“ es with some grief that the application, we
“ are speaking, of reigns infinitely more in
“ England than in France. He knew this
“ by having conversed with a great many
“ gentlemen of that nation, upon their
“ travels. He says, he hardly ever saw one
“ of them who was not adorned with ex-
“ cellent knowledge in one or more facul-
“ ties. And I have been informed from
“ other quarters, that a great many lords
“ or principal gentlemen, if not the greatest
“ part, have excellent libraries, which they
“ make use of as well themselves, as permit
“ others to do the same. So that it is very
“ probable that England, without having
“ any particular advantage in natural ta-
“ lents, may have persons better instructed
“ in arts and sciences than other nations.
“ One field, without being of a richer qua-
“ lity, will produce more than another by
“ its being cultivated better. Besides, it is
“ more

PORTUGAL, SPAIN, &c. 281

“ more easy to find four persons of remark-
“ able genius among four thousand that
“ apply themselves to study, than among
“ two thousand.”

LET.

L E T T E R XXXIX.

SEVILLE, JUNE 5, 1759.

FEYJOO goes on as follows in his letter upon the English nation. Tho' there are some things pretty nearly the same as what I gave you in the quotation taken from the essay of his, entitled The intellectual Chart of the World, I will give you what he writes at full length,

“ True it is that England has exhibited so
 “ many great geniuses, and of so superior a
 “ stamp, as to have induced various literati
 “ of other nations to acknowledge some ad-
 “ vantage in their understanding above the
 “ rest. Heideger, a German author, says
 “ he found in the English a more subtle ge-
 “ nius than in all other nations. The great
 “ Fontenelle (than whom no person was
 “ more

“ more capable of deciding this question)
 “ altho’ he does not exprefsly fay the fame
 “ in any part of his works, yet in many he
 “ fpeaks with fuch emphasis of the talents
 “ of the Englifh, that without any violence
 “ we may judge him to be of the fame opi-
 “ nion. What is very remarkable, is, that
 “ there are a great many French authors,
 “ who notwithstanding the noted emulation
 “ between the two nations, give it for grant-
 “ ed that the Englifh beat them in penetra-
 “ tion and in depth of thinking, referving,
 “ however, to themfelves the glory of ex-
 “ plaining their thoughts better. And in-
 “ deed it is not to be denied in this that the
 “ French greatly furpafs thofe neighbours
 “ of theirs ; fo that it is almoft a proverb to
 “ fay, Englifh ideas with a Frenchman’s
 “ pen.

“ Father Rapin, with regard to this fub-
 “ ject, merits a particular confideration above
 “ all other French authors, not only as be-
 “ ing

“ing a very famous critic upon the writers
“of his nation, as well as those of others,
“but also upon account of his great devo-
“tion, which would naturally incline him
“to regard with displeasure the daringnefs
“of the genius of the English, as treading
“under foot the most assured maxims upon
“which our religion is founded. Notwith-
“standing this he does not fail to do justice
“to their talents with regard to penetration
“and depth of thought in philosophy. In
“the 18th section of his reflections upon
“philosophy, after confessing this in gene-
“ral, he expresses the advantage the Eng-
“lish have with regard to penetration by
“calling it, ‘that depth of genius common
“to their nation.’ Coming afterwards to
“speak in particular of original modern
“philosophers, he says, he finds but one in
“France, which is Descartes, one in Italy,
“viz. Galileo, but that in England he counts
“to the number of three, Bacon, Hobbes
“and Boyle.

“What

“ What would father Rapin have said,
 “ if he had lived to behold that won-
 “ der of understanding, he who with more
 “ than eagle’s flight mounted to the celestial
 “ spheres, and with eyes more piercing than
 “ those of the lynx, appears to have pene-
 “ trated the depth of those abyſſes. Much
 “ more than all this is expreſſed by the name
 “ of the great Newton. Of the three men-
 “ tioned by father Rapin I have never ſeen
 “ Hobbes, nor any of the leaſt of his works.
 “ I know alſo that he is deteſted for his im-
 “ piety. A man who attempted to deprive
 “ the king of heaven of his divinity, to
 “ inveſt with it the kings of the earth, not
 “ owning other laws, divine or human, than
 “ the mere will of princes.

“ Bacon and Boyle were original and pro-
 “ found philoſophers ; Newton ſtill more ſo
 “ than either of them. To Bacon nature
 “ gave the entrance into her magnificent pa-
 “ lace, unfolding to his ſight the gates
 “ which

“ which led to her most inmost recesses,
 “ And he acquainted the world with what he
 “ had discovered in his two famous works,
 “ *Novum Organum Scientiarum*, and that
 “ *de augmentis Scientiarum*. To Boyle
 “ she delivered the key of one of those
 “ principal gates, through which he en-
 “ tered into the hall where inanimate bo-
 “ dies were anatomized (*a droll expression*).
 “ To Newton she gave a bright torch, by
 “ the light of which he was able to register
 “ the ample spaces of that great edifice,
 “ where former philosophers had met with
 “ nothing but darkness. I could name a
 “ great many other remarkable personages
 “ belonging to England, but such as are to
 “ be paralleled in other nations. Now my
 “ purpose was not to produce to the public
 “ all the great men, but only those few,

“ ————— Qui ob facta ingentia possunt

“ Vere homines, et semi-dei, heroesque vocari.”

What

What Englishman can read this, and when he considers it as published in the centre of Spain, not be proud of the character his nation bears there? I confess I think myself a greater man than I was before I perused it, and I make no doubt but these treatises of Feyjoo will help to banish from the Spanish soil those clouds of ignorance which have hitherto oppressed a very sensible nation.

LET-

L E T T E R XL.

SEVILLE, JUNE 14, 1739.

I Will still make you out another letter with a continuation of Feyjoo, who goes on thus.

“ Notwithstanding what I have said, the
“ reason alledged before, of the English na-
“ tion’s applying more to the cultivation of
“ letters than other kingdoms, is still suffi-
“ cient to make us doubt, whether those
“ giant authors I have pointed out, may not
“ be rather owing to that, than to any parti-
“ cular native disposition in the inhabitants
“ of the island of Great Britain. To this
“ we may add, that the genius of the Eng-
“ lish being more hardy and intrepid than
“ that of other nations, contributes much
“ to

“ to the splendor and credit of their pro-
 “ ductions. Certain it is, that in two per-
 “ sons of equal talents, one however, of a
 “ timid, and the other of a daring disposi-
 “ tion, the latter will outshine the former,
 “ not only in common conversation, in
 “ which a little impudence is of particular
 “ advantage, but even as an author. A
 “ timid genius, tho’ on many occasions,
 “ perhaps, capable of rising above the com-
 “ mon way of thinking and reasoning of
 “ mankind; yet contains himself within
 “ such narrow bounds, from dangers his
 “ imagination paints to him in committing
 “ to writing any particular ideas, that
 “ sometimes where he might aspire to the
 “ glory of an original, fear damps his
 “ flight, and he remains buried among the
 “ endless multitude of vulgar writers. On
 “ the contrary, he who is not afraid of
 “ launching out into the open ocean in
 “ spight of what storms may break upon
 “ his head, by giving freely to the world

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“ those

“ those thoughts which an elevated genius
“ may suggest, is known and esteemed by
“ men of understanding for what he is.
“ Courage and understanding must be united
“ together to make heroes as well in literary
“ enterprises as in those of war, at least, to
“ make people known for such,

“ But from this last reflection an argu-
“ ment of parity may be deduced in favor
“ of the common opinion, which gives to
“ different nations unequal geniuses. If
“ the English are more courageous than the
“ inhabitants of other kingdoms, it follows
“ that courage is in a greater or less degree
“ in different climates, which without
“ doubt must arise from the different con-
“ stitutions of the people. From this dif-
“ ference in their constitutions, to follow
“ the most current opinion, which does not
“ admit any essential inequality in souls,
“ arises the difference of genius. That their
“ constitutions are different is to be collected
“ not

‘ not only from one person surpassing another in valor, but also from the difference that is found in their various inclinations and temper, which undeniably arises from constitution. One nation is more active, another more idle; one more choleric, another more patient; one more open like the French, another more circumspect like the Spaniards; one more sincere like the Flemish nation, and another more cautious like the Italians, &c.

“ To say the truth, I cannot solve this argument so satisfactorily as not to leave room for replies upon replies. As the answering all these would take up too much time, I think it best to elude their force, and only balance the case with a contrary argument taken from experience. I have lived from my youth in a republic, namely, that of the college of my order, where there is a continual exact examination of the persons that compose it, to

U 2 the

“ the end that they may be advanced in
 “ literary employments, or excluded from
 “ them. And even after employments have
 “ been conferred upon individuals, the nice
 “ observations we make of those who fill
 “ their offices best, and shew superior or
 “ inferior talents in the exercise of their
 “ profession, may permit us to say that by
 “ regular degrees we are daily weighing the
 “ value of their respective intellectual abili-
 “ ties. Now in the sixty-one years and
 “ above that I have lived in this community,
 “ I have seen subjects without number in-
 “ troduced into it from all the provinces
 “ of our monarchy, so that I have been
 “ able to sound tolerably well the equality
 “ or inequality of the persons that came
 “ from them with regard to the discussion
 “ in hand. But I declare, tho’ this has
 “ been many times the object of my thoughts,
 “ I could never discover any superiority that
 “ those of one province had in genius over
 “ any other. However, you may find a
 “ pretty

“ pretty remarkable difference in their turn.
 “ But it does not follow from thence that
 “ their talents are unequal.

“ I have here given you what has pre-
 “ sented itself on both sides the question, as
 “ things occurred to me, without any pre-
 “ meditated order. I now imagine you will
 “ ask me what is my determination? Is
 “ there any nation superior in natural ta-
 “ lents to the rest or no? What I answer
 “ is, that the case seems so dubious to me
 “ that I dare not pronounce the verdict.
 “ I will conform myself to what you deter-
 “ mine concerning it. Heaven guard you,
 “ &c.”

I am just returned from a little expedition
 I have made to a place called the *Rocio*. If
 I have nothing more entertaining for my next
 paper, I may give you some of the parti-
 culars of it. There are prodigious quan-
 tities of people go to this place once a

year to adore an image of the Virgin Mary, and as it is situated in the middle of a forest, with no house near it but a little hermitage, and the church, they live the two days they always consume in this act of devotion in arbours made for that purpose, which, together with their continual singing, dancing, playing upon the guitar and other instruments, made a most rural scene. At night too there were not bad fireworks, but perhaps more of this hereafter.

LET.

L E T T E R XLI.

SEVILLE, JUNE 18, 1759.

I Will now, as I have promised, give you some circumstances of my queer jaunt to the Virgin Mary del *Rocio*, or of the *Dew*, which I spoke to you about.

My companion the vice-consul being ready, and our horses at the door, I took leave of my landlord Don Ignatio de la Portela, and set forth. I need not tell you that Andalusian horses are very famous, not for speed, for in that perhaps ours and those of Barbary excel, but for their great docility and beautiful warlike make. Thrown over my left shoulder lay my cloak, a constant attendant upon a Spaniard in all his peregrinations. We were stopt soon after our

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setting

setting out by a prodigious concourse of people gathered together to see eighty-eight redeemed captives enter the city. They were just come from Barbary, and had been redeemed by the subscriptions of charitable persons, aided by the king of Spain's bounty. There were two Irish Roman catholics among them, as likewise two women, a great many boys, and one Moor escaped from his native country with the intention of becoming a christian, but the ceremony is to be deferred till he gets to Madrid, where it is to be performed I think with some pomp. They were all dressed in white cloaks, with the badge of their redemption fastened upon them. In other respects they still retained their Moorish habits, and the oldest had long venerable beards, for some of them had been a number of years in captivity. I spoke to one of the Irishmen, who had been taken not long before on board a Spanish vessel. He said that his principal employment during his slavery was carrying

ing stones to build a mosque. They say the Spaniards have now no more of their subjects prisoners in Africa. The vice-consul and myself having at last extricated ourselves from this tumult, we got to the bridge and passed Triano, which, indeed, is only a kind of suburb to Seville. The first village in our way to La Puebla, where we were to lie that night, was San Juan de Alfarache, very pleasantly situated upon a rising hill, and not at a great distance from the river Guadalquivir. We had some rain, which was followed by a cold wind, unexperienced they say in this part of the world so late in the season, and more penetrating, perhaps, than any felt in England. After a very disagreeable ride, we got to La Puebla, and hired a cart in which to proceed upon our journey the next morning. You may wonder to hear me talk of such a vehicle, and especially when I inform you it was to be drawn by oxen; but we must have gone either in this manner or on horseback, and the

the latter would have been very inconvenient upon many accounts, particularly as we should in that case have had no where to lie; whereas, a tilted cart, with good mattraffes under us, made a most commodious bed, for in the place where we were going, as I have already hinted, there were no houses. The church in which the image of the Virgin Mary of the *Dew* stands, is situated in the middle of a forest, where the best accommodations you can get are under arbours made on purpose, which are not so convenient as tilted carts, and many persons come in them upon that account. * . * *

* * * * *

L E T.

L E T T E R XLII.

SEVILLE, JUNE 22, 1759.

ABOUT two o'clock in the morning the vice-consul and myself mounted our ignoble vehicle, where extending ourselves upon the mattraffes, we soon were lulled to sleep by the slow and sedate motion of our cloven-footed animals.

There is one advantage in these Spanish carts, which is, that there is no danger of being overturned, as the axle-tree is twice as broad as any ever yet made in England. What is their reason for this I know not, but it certainly looks very particular, especially as the carriage is in general not broader than ours. We arrived at breakfast at a pretty little village, where we were regaled by some of the vice-consul's acquaintances. They gave

gave us bread daubed over with a sort of syrup, which added to some tolerably good wine compleated our repast. Our cattle having by this time grazed sufficiently before the door of our hosts, were once more yoked to the carriage, tho' to yoke is an improper expression, as the Spaniards make their oxen draw by their foreheads, bearing the weight of the pole or shaft just behind their horns. They have but one shaft which comes out from the middle of the cart, and is crossed at the end by a kind of splinter bar, that lies upon their heads. I will not venture to say whether the Spaniards or we are in the right, but they certainly ought to know where the principal strength of these animals lies, upon account of their frequent bull-feasts, in which cruel exercise all nations allow them to be extremely dextrous. At present, indeed, there is neither that diversion nor any other, upon account of the present disorder of the king of Spain, who is not expected to live, and is reported to be out of his

his mind. However, you may often see a little specimen of dexterity of this kind in the fields, where the country people make no difficulty of provoking a bull and playing with him. The chief foundation they ground this art upon is the knowing that a bull some little time before he strikes shuts his eyes, so that by agility and practice, with the help of their cloak, by which they deceive him in slipping a step or two beside it, and holding it out to the extent of their arm, there is not much danger of any accident happening. *

* * * * *

L E T-

L E T T E R XLIII.

SEVILLE, JUNE 27, 1759.

BEING set out from the little village where we breakfasted, we proceeded with the usual gravity of our ruminating animals to Villa Manriques to dinner, where the vice-consul knew almost the whole town, which occupied us in making twenty visits at least. I believe there were fifty carts like ours here, all engaged in the same expedition, and all their passengers seemed determined to be as merry as they could. The guitars were resounding, while the people danced all about the streets. To give you some idea of the rural dances of the Andalusians, I shall only say to you what a sea captain swore to me, that they exactly resemble what he had seen upon the coast of Guinea. But I think he was too hard upon our manner

ner of dancing here, for tho' there is certainly not much grace in it, yet there is something pastoral and pleasing, especially in the women with their castagnets and tambourines. The former is a little wooden machine, which makes a sort of noise like a rattle by closing it, and is held in each hand; the latter is only a flat drum, with gingling pieces of tin hanging round it. The manner of dress too among the countrymen is pretty. In most towns the cloak I have mentioned so often to you is worn, but in the country it very frequently gives place to a short jacquet put over their waistcoat, from which it is always of a different colour, and the sleeves, instead of covering their arms, hang down genteelly behind. I do not, however, think this dress looks well but upon young people. After having dined at Villa Manriques, we proceeded to an old hunting palace belonging to the king of Spain, situated at the beginning of the forest, in which the *Rocio*, where we were going, lies,

lies, tho' at the distance of some leagues. We all had free access into this royal mansion, in consequence of which, it was filled in a little time by our fellow travellers ; and as the carts came thronging along very thick after each other, we soon made up a formidable assembly. The diversion was singing and dancing till the sun was set, when on all hands fires were lighted abroad under the adjacent trees, and different suppers prepared by each respective community. About ten o'clock our whole caravan set out afresh, and towards sun-rise we arrived at the scene of diversion. I confess, the ruralness and novelty of the thing struck me. The seeing so many thousand people all at once, dressed so pastorally, and lying about under the trees, presented no less than a second Arcadia to my view. The sound of their guitars and other musical instruments greatly heightened the idea of ancient stories of shepherds and shepherdeses. We stayed all that night, and till twelve o'clock the

next

next day, to see the concluding proceſſion of the image of the Virgin Mary, which certainly was not worth the time we loſt. All being at laſt over, we returned with much company and muſic, and much in the ſame manner we came from Seville. As we were dining the next day under ſome trees, ſtill attended by many people, a wag was paſſing by quickly on horſeback, who being aſked by ſome of the men whither he was going in ſuch haſte, replied, that he was carrying *borns* to Seville. The words were no ſooner out of his mouth than away he galloped, and was in the right to do ſo, as the whole company got up in a rage, and began pelting him with ſtones, ſome of which were near ſtriking the fugitive inſulter. It is wonderful what an effect the ſimple word *borns* has upon an Andaluſian, and it is ſaid, that if you call one a *cabron* or goat, nothing can ſave your life but flight. This ſeems to be ſome remains of the old Spaniſh jealouſy, for in other coun-

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tries

tries people do not attribute so extraordinary a force to these words, without, indeed, they were intended as an insult by the pronouncer of them.

I could have made a longer description of this religious merry-making, and of the fireworks, and other entertainments we had, but imagine you are sick of it already.

L. E. T.

L E T T E R XLIV.

SEVILLE, JULY 6, 1759

I Will now give you some account of a little journey I have made to Palma, not that any thing remarkable happened in it, but the sending you these descriptions affords me an opportunity of enlarging upon the customs and manners of the Andalusians more agreeably, perhaps, than if I was dryly to tell you them without any narration. In all cases you are by bargain to be contented with what I send you.

I set out in company with an Irish gentleman and one Rodriguez, who came with us to take care of the horses. We had been so long detained upon account of their not coming at the time appointed, that we imagined we should have been broiled alive

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by

by setting out so late. A gentle wind, however, in our faces, mitigated the heat of the sun till we arrived at the *Venta* or country inn where we were to dine, about three leagues from Seville. A Spanish league is four good English miles, so that we had gone at least twelve. We here dismounted, and Rodriguez conducted the horses into the stable, where he gave them plenty of straw to feed upon. They had, likewise, some barley, which here supplies the place of oats, but chopt straw is the only exchange they have for hay. The heat of these countries is, I imagine, the reason they have nothing better for their cattle, as all grass is parched up long before this time, and the country would now afford very little green if it were not for the olive trees and vineyards. But what to me seems particular is, that, tho' our horses in England eat as much hay as they please, besides other things, and have always clean straw to lie upon, yet they look in general leaner, much
more

more coarse grained, and much less beautiful than those of Spain. Perhaps the climate, and their not willingly making them sweat, may be some assistance. Not that I think a sportsman would at all approve of a Spanish horse, as they would make but a bad figure in the chase. However, upon the whole I can not but allow them to be very fine animals. The majesticalness of their shape and gait, added to their great docility and meekness, tho' without want of spirit, makes it a pleasure to ride them. And yet a great many lie only upon their own dung, and eat little more than straw. In a campaign they would have great advantages over British cavalry, that has been nursed up more delicately. There is another property the Spaniards cry up in their horses, which is that of never kicking. How true the assertion may be I know not, all I am certain of is, that I have never seen them strike, and yet the Spaniards are very familiar in walking about their heels. If by any

extraordinary chance a horse should happen to lift up his legs, they with great gravity affirm it to be owing to his being of a bastard race; for, say they, no true Spanish horse could ever do such a thing. The reason Spanish horses are so little seen out of the kingdom is, that it is death for any person to attempt to export them without a particular privilege from the court, which, I believe, is very hard to obtain. But horses are smuggled into Portugal, as I think I have already told you that the Spaniards are reckoned the boldest in that way of any nation. But to conclude my equestrian dissertation, and convey you once more to the inn our steeds were then at. It was, indeed, more calculated for the reception of such animals, than of human beings; however, we got there some of the best olives I ever eat in all my life. With these and the provision we brought with us, we made out a very good dinner, and after a gentle sleep to digest it, set out for Carmona, a large city

city to which we arrived at sun-set. As Carmona is situated upon an eminence, it is much cooler than Seville, which stands in a hole by the river-side, like an English town. To enjoy then a little the fresh air, which was breathing through the streets, and to see what sort of a place we were got to, my friend and I sallied out of our inn, leaving word with Rodriguez to buy some eggs, and get them dressed for supper (meagre fare !) After we had walked about the city for some time, we went out at one of the gates of it, and sat ourselves down upon the ridge of the hill on which Carmona stands. We here stayed some time invoking the propitious gales to arise and fan us,

Aura vehi, pectusque intra gratissima nostrum.

Nor were the gentle gales inattentive to our desire. From the valley beneath us sprung up a breeze, which renewed our spirits, unbraced before by the too great heat of the weather. The valley below us might

be, I believe, seven or eight Spanish leagues in circumference, and was sowed with different kinds of grain, most part of which was then reaping, as you will easily imagine the harvests are much forwarder here than with us. The business of a reaper in this climate is surely most terrible. To stand with their faces for so many hours bent towards the ground, now burning with the too powerful rays of the sun, seems enough to kill any person. Some, indeed, they say, in reality drop down dead, and that all would do the same, if it was not owing to a mess the country people make among themselves of garlick, vinegar, and some other ingredients, which they hold as a preservative against heat.

L E T-

L E T T E R XLV.

SEVILLE, JULY 9, 1759.

NOT to keep you any longer at Carmona, (for the many repetitions of my fare and inns cannot but be tiresome) I will only tell you we set out from it after having passed a very bad night upon account of the quantity of vermin. They are one of the plagues of all hot countries, but I think they are worse in Spain than Italy. We are much pestered here by a sort of gnat, called in England muskatoes, from a corruption of the Spanish word *mosquitos*, which are very venomous and disagreeable. Just without the gate of the town we arrived to a very steep descent, which leads into the valley I mentioned in my last, and which we were now to cross. It was, I believe, about two or three leagues over; but the heat we suffered made that distance

distance appear double. Having at length passed it, and a village called Campana, with which it terminates, we came into a country less broiling indeed, but much more barren. It was a sort of ground the Spaniards call *Palmares*, upon account of little low thickets of palms growing all about it, not much thicker nor higher, nor very different in resemblance, from our fern-brakes in England. Where these heathy plants grow they say that cultivation is of no use, as the soil is naturally unfruitful. This uncomfortable desert face of the country continued till we came near Palma, where the appearance of things was a little more smiling, as at least there was here and there some cultivation, but still it might be called rather desert, and continued so till we came to the banks of the river Henil, or as the Spaniards write it Xenil, which runs just under Palma. We were here obliged to stay a long time in the burning sun for a ferry boat, and when we got up to Palma, which was on fire, if I may be

be allowed the expression, were a long time before we could accommodate ourselves with a quarter, or separate room. We had nothing but the remainder of a ham to dine upon, as no fresh provision can resist these great heats. After our salt repast, the heat inclined us much to sleep. But to our misfortune, there were no beds, and the floor was so uncleanably dirty, that we did not care to lay ourselves down upon it. The best method we thought we could take was the following. We went into the stable and cleaned enough of the range of mangers for us two to lie in. To make our bed the softer, we took all the straw our horses could eat from that time till our departure, and laid it under us. As it was already chopped for consumption, it proved but a prickly kind of mattrafs, tho' I slept very sound upon it, till an impertinent jack-ass, drawn, I suppose, by the odour of the straw, began treating me very roughly with his snout. Thus discomposed I got up, and
was

was retiring into our room, when a very droll quarrel between Rodriguez and another man detained me. This latter was the master of the jack-asses that had disturbed me, and who had a good many other animals of the same species now in the stable. The poor beasts, urged by hunger, for perhaps they had eaten nothing all that day, and seeing that our three horses were plentifully supplied with barley, which Rodriguez had just given them, the poor jack-asses beholding with invidious eye this cruel distinction, having been for some time melancholy spectators of it, could no longer refrain from intruding, and becoming partakers likewise of the good fare. Rodriguez seeing their familiarity, accosted their master with a very civil deportment, and without any seeming passion. "Do you know, sir," says he, "that if your beasts eat our corn, I shall certainly take up that piece of wood which lies there, and knock their brains out?" To which the other answered, that with regard to

to that he might do as he pleased, "but do
 "you know, fir," adds he very civilly likewise,
 "that if you do, I may chance afterwards to
 "take up the same piece of wood, and knock
 "your brains out too?" Now each began to
 swell, and in all likelihood the business
 would not have blown over without a fray,
 had not my friend interposed his authority,
 and brought the antagonists to terms of
 peace. However, Rodriguez could not help
 grumbling for a long time after. "If," says
 he, "the fellow had come and taken my
 "viçtuals from me, there would have been
 "nothing in it, or even if his horses had
 "eat the provender of my horses, but that
 "his jack-asses should come and serve my
 "horses so, is not to be borne."

I give you this trifling anecdote as it illustrates a little the character of the common Andalusians, and indeed there is a striking resemblance between many of them and

Sancho

Sancho Pança, which, however is not at all wonderful, as Cervantes drew his pictures from nature as much as any of the characters in Tom Jones are drawn.

The morning we had come out Rodriguez complained much of hunger, and told us the nice air which then blew had entirely digested his last night's supper, thereby archly hinting to us that he had eat no breakfast at all that morning. He then was as desirous of opening the wallet he bore upon his horse as Sancho was, but we prevailed upon him to refrain till we came to the Venta, where we dined.

L E T.

L E T T E R XLVI.

SEVILLE, JULY 12, 1759.

I WILL pass over what happened to us during our stay at Palma, as the time was mostly employed in visiting, seeing processions and being regaled with sweetmeats. One morning, indeed, we rode out to see a little of the country. We went down towards the river Henil, which we had passed in coming; and along the side of which there are a great number of fruit gardens, for Palma furnishes a great part of the neighbouring country with fruit, which, indeed, is the only sort of commerce they have. Fruit gardens in this country are always situated upon the banks of rivers, or in places where they can have plenty of water, as otherwise they would be burnt up by the sun. They have different kinds of
engines

engines which convey their water in pretty little neat rills to every part of the garden. One of them called a *noria* seems to be the cheapest, most simple, and, therefore, the best of the kind I ever met with, merely pitchers fastened to a great perpendicular wheel turned by a horizontal one. After having been about a great many of these gardens, gathering the fruit from the trees as we rode along, (for none begrudge plumbs, pears, or apples in this plentiful fruit climate), we went to another spot about two miles from where we then were, to see the place where the Henil and Guadalquivir unite their streams and form but one river, which goes on afterwards by the name of the latter, and under that denomination proceeds to Seville, and so on to the sea at St. Lucar. It was a pretty place enough, but the heat begun to be so strong that we were glad to get to our inn, which accordingly we did in less than an hour after.

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L E T.

L E T T E R XLVII.

SEVILLE, JULY 16, 1759.

I N my former letter I said it would be tiresome to give you an exact description of every thing we did at Palma. Let it suffice that there we passed our time in seeing processions and making visits, for the inhabitants treated us with much civility. As we resolved in our return to go to Carmona by dinner, we sat out very early in the morning. Our breakfast was under a tree, with our horses turned to graze *a la Española*. We were much distressed for water, which seems more difficult sometimes to get at in these countries than wine, nor could we find any till we came to Campana, the village which stands upon the farther edge of the valley of Carmona. Notwithstanding the haste we made, time had run on so fast that the sun

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was

was burning hot when we entered the low ground, and to delay us more I found my horse wanted a couple of shoes, so that we were forced to go a foot pace quite to the town. In ascending the hill, just before you arrive at Carmona, the very earth seemed to send forth flames; but at last we entered the gate, and soon after the inn, with no small joy. As we had now very little provision we were obliged to make out our dinner with eggs, fruit, and other things we could buy, and our after-dinner's sleep, being finished, we set out in the cool of the evening for the desolate inn three leagues from Seville. Here with no better bed than a table with my cloak round me, I reposed till sun-rise, when we set out again and got to Seville before the heat could much affect us,

To fill up my present paper, I will give you an inscription that is written upon the gate of an hospital in this town, which I have literally translated from the Spanish,

Perhaps

Perhaps you may not understand it; however, it will strongly mark the bigotted ideas of the nation I am at present with. Indeed I think it a master-piece of enthusiasm, and if ever you have occasion to make any inscription you may extract the substance from this.

It is as follows.

“ This work of the infirmaries of the
 “ hospital of the holy charity was finished
 “ with the perfection and greatness with
 “ which they are now seen, in the year of
 “ our safety 1674.

“ Our Lord Jesus Christ being ruler in
 “ Heaven; he being high pontiff of the
 “ church, who is the high priest according
 “ to the order of Melchisedec.

“ He who reigns in Heaven reigning in
 “ the Spains, his divine majesty being the
 “ eldest brother of this holy house, and he

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“ who

“ who commands in Heaven; being a poor
“ infirm in these beds, which were made
“ at the cost and expence of the most high
“ God his father, with whom he lives and
“ reigns in unity with the Holy Ghost be-
“ yond all ages.”

LET-

L E T T E R XLVIII.

SEVILLE, JULY 26, 1759.

I SHALL set out shortly for Cadiz and Gibraltar, and am only waiting for a letter I expect from Lisbon. In the interval I will give you some particulars of another little journey I have made to Cabral.

I set out with the same Irish gentleman and in much the same form as we had done for Palma. We dined at Carmona, but left our former road when we had descended into the valley. The next morning we abandoned a miserable inn that had housed us for the night and got to Ecija, a large city, by a little after sun-rise. Our inn stood just by the bridge, and facing it a gigantic statue of St. Christopher. The river running by the Ecija is the Henil, which I

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made

326 LETTERS FROM

made you acquainted with in my former journey. This town is situated in a hole with naked hills all round it something like Winchester. It is reckoned the hottest place in all Spain, and upon that account is called the frying-pan of Andalusia.

We were greatly benighted in getting from Ecija to the solitary hovel which was to receive us that evening. Our best bed was upon some flint stones, at the door of the inn in the open air, where we slept for an hour or two till our horses had done their corn. Nothing can be a greater proof of the fineness of this climate than to see the people sleeping about on the bare ground with nothing but the heavens to cover them. It would be almost death in England, but in this very dry country I do not think there is any thing very unwholesome in it. It is now several months since we have had a drop of rain, nor is any expected till towards the month of October, when the
heats

heats begin to cease. There are but very little dews neither, quite the contrary of Italy, where you may sometimes see the evening dew descending like a small rain. This may be the cause of many parts in Italy being so very unhealthy, that they say it is fatal to sleep a night in them. However as, notwithstanding the dryness of the air, we were not very content with our stony couch, we mounted our horses as soon as they were able to proceed, and about three hours after day break arrived at Cabral.

The country about this place is excessively pretty, and resembles Italy more than Spain. Hills, wood and water variegate the scene in a most delightful manner, while a rugged mountain impendent over the town adds to the romanticness of the view. Cabral itself is like other country towns, tho' cleaner than most I have seen in Spain, and it has the advantage of having little rivulets running through almost all the streets, a thing

very agreeable in this hot climate ; not that the heat is so oppressive here as in Seville, the neighbourhood of a very mountainous country towards Grenada rendering the air much fresher. Our time passed as at Palma, in visiting and seeing the country. A canon of Grenada was our principal conductor. He one evening carried us to one of the prettiest water-falls I ever saw, where we sat down on the grass and entertained ourselves with the agreeableness of the place, till the sun had verged pretty near to the horizon. We then began walking on afresh, and went to the foot of the mountain impending over Cabral. From a cleft in it issued two pretty little cool rivulets, which afterwards unite their streams and form a small river, called by the name of the town, till it loses both itself and denomination in the Henil. Under the shadow of this mountain and straggling along the sides of the rivulets, whose banks were of living rock, sat a number of gentlemen and ladies enjoying the *fresco* this delicious

licious place afforded. As we were dry we went to the opening whence one of the streams broke forth from the heart of the mountain, and having borrowed a glass of one of the gentlemen, drank plentifully of the refreshing liquor, as it was not inferior in coolness to that tempered by snow in houses, nor in sweetness to the finest water you ever tasted. You may wonder to hear me talk so deliciously, and so much in praise of a beverage rarely used by the subjects of Great Britain, but the Spaniards drink very little of any thing else, and, indeed, heat certainly renders every strong liquid disagreeable. We supped that night with the canon, where an old maid servant, who, I suppose, had never stirred out of the place, pleased me mightily. She seemed very much surprised at the bad Spanish I talked, and not being able to contain herself any longer, "What!" exclaims she, "and don't they talk the same *there* * as *here*?" The innocence with

* Allà como aqui.

with which she said this added a particular grace to her ignorance, and upon our answering her that *there* they talked a quite different language from what they did *here*, she broke out into an exclamation of wonder at the odd things which happen in this world. Our supper being finished with the canon, we retired to our inn, not without casting an envious eye upon a large mat which lay in his room, and which would have proved a much better bed than those we were to expect.

L E T.

L E T T E R XLIX.

SEVILLE, AUGUST 5, 1759.

I WILL conclude my Cabral expedition in a few lines, not to tire you with repetitions. The rest of our time was spent much in the same manner as what I have described. At last setting out in the evening and baiting at our old hovel, where I had lain upon the flints, we got in very good time to Ecija the next morning. We again set out from thence towards the evening, not for Carmo-na, the road we came, but for Marchena, which we knew was a shorter way, and the people of the inn at Ecija assured us we could not mistake it. We did not, however, arrive there without many perils and dangers of roads and robbers. The following morning after an easy ride we arrived at Seville in good time.

I have

I have been this morning to see a giant, who has exhibited himself to a great part of Europe. He is surprisngly tall, I dare not say how much, but withal seems equally weak and unhappy. I did not know the difficulties of a giant traveller till he recounted them to me. No bed to lie in but out of which your feet extend a considerable way. No coach to ride in, but where you are obliged to sit bent double. Wearied with the posture, he was forced at times to take a little walk on foot, to the utter astonishment of the Spanish countrymen who met him, and fell prostrate in adoration of what they thought St. Christopher. Coming one festival day to a country village, he attended high mass, after which there was a sermon. The preacher, who had not observed him when he mounted the pulpit, is said to have no sooner cast his eyes upon this monstrous figure, then struck with amazement, he stopped short, sunk down, and was heard to repeat ejaculations at the bottom of his pulpit. But
tho'

tho' this amazing man causes terror to the vulgar, I felt myself touched with much compassion towards him, and the more so as he has sold himself for three years to the person who conducts him, and who hurries him about that he may make the more money. His gains, however, have been lessened here at Seville by the magistrates obliging his gigantic ward to go and hear mass, notwithstanding the representations that were made of the great loss it would be, if he was seen publicly at church. But the divines have determined that he is rather more than less of a christian by being a giant, and is, therefore, at least equally obliged with all other catholics to attend the duties of the church. A mass, however, is prepared for him very early in the morning on holy days, but it does not prevent many people from getting up and seeing him gratis.

I intend next week to leave Seville and my friends here, who are mostly Irish, fled,

as

as they exprefs it, from the tyrannical government of England. Whether their complaints are juft or no, I cannot fay, however, they tell you that all their offices are given away to the Englifh, whose only merit is a fervile flattery to courtiers. They complain likewise greatly of perfecution with regard to religion, tho' I fhould think without juftice. The law that no Roman catholic can ferve in any public capacity is by them cried down as impolitic. What numbers, fay they, of our countrymen who now ferve France and Spain and other foreign nations, would have devoted themfelves to the defence of their native country, if the rigor of the laws had not hindered perfons of their perfuafion from being employed under the Britifh government. They likewise complain of not being allowed to wear fwords, or ride a horfe of above five pounds value, laws which they fay are put into execution.

This

This is what they complain of, which I leave you to interpret as you think best. One or two Englishmen there are among them, but as they are *Irishified* I shall not distinguish them from the same class.

LET-

L E T T E R L.

SEVILLE, AUGUST 16, 1759.

I SHALL not leave Seville till the 20th, and have nothing else at present to inform you of, but that the vice-consul who accompanied me to the *Rocio* died yesterday morning and was buried this. His death is attributed to the having made a journey this very hot weather to some quicksilver mines there are in this country. They are reckoned very noxious, and might be rendered still worse by the present heat of the sun, which a sea-captain declared to me yesterday was more furious than in Jamaica. These mines are so pestilential that no person, they say, is sent to work in them except condemned people, who seldom resist above a couple of years. But whatever was the cause of the vice-consul's death, he certainly is no more,
for

for I was this morning at his burial. His corps I could not see, for tho' it was exposed, there was such a stench issuing from it, that none could approach it, and yet he had been dead only four and twenty hours. A sign of the great heat of this country. But tho' it creates putrefaction easily, it soon draws up the noxious effluvia of it, and the bodies of dead dogs and cats, which are thrown plentifully into the streets, are not offensive the day after their being exposed, except to the eyes of the passengers. All the Irish attended the vice-consul's funeral, and formed a long procession, for he was a Roman catholic. But why should I talk to you of burials? You might like better, perhaps, that I should speak of life. I will do so, and give you a remarkable example of it in a man formerly of Seville, and so conclude my paper.

“ Don Juan Ramirez de Bustamente, native of this city, lived to the age of one
 Z “ hundred

“ hundred and twenty-one years. He was
“ married five times, and by his wives had
“ forty-two children, and by other women
“ nine. He was a great sailer, and knew
“ seven Indian languages. At the age of
“ ninety-nine years he was ordained priest,
“ and always said mass, and assisted in the
“ quire of the parish church of St. Lorenzo
“ till his death, which was occasioned
“ by a fall. He was buried in the same
“ church, the 30th of September 1678.”

L E T.

L E T T E R L I.

SEVILLE, AUGUST 19, 1759.

[THINK I can give you nothing more
ntertaining for this paper than an extract
rom the Madrid gazette.

“ Madrid, 14th August, 1759. On Friday
‘ the 10th of this month, at a quarter after
‘ four in the morning, the ills of our be-
‘ loved soveraign Don Ferdinand the sixth
‘ had their indispenfible term, and his no-
‘ torious virtues obtained their everlasting
‘ reward. After having made a proper use
‘ of a happy interval of ease which the di-
‘ vine clemency granted him, this most pi-
‘ ous monarch died in the arms, and assisted
‘ with the fpiritual attendance of the arch-
‘ bishop inquifitor-general, of the bishop
‘ of Palencia, of the palace curate Don

Z 2

“ Joseph

“ Joseph de Rada, and of Don Francisco
“ de Barcena, chaplain of honor to his majesty
“ in the palace of Villaviciosa belonging to
“ the most serene infant duke of Parma his
“ brother, as count of Chinchon. He con-
“ fessed himself much to the satisfaction of
“ the before-mentioned Don Joseph de Ra-
“ da, who administered that sacrament to
“ him, and when nearer his death that of
“ the extreme unction, as did the archbi-
“ shop of Laodicea, nuncio to his holiness,
“ the absolution and papal benediction the
“ evening of his majesty's failing. He died
“ at forty-five years of age, ten months and
“ nine days, after a reign of thirteen years,
“ one month and a day, and the same day
“ in which he was proclaimed in the year
“ 1746. The tears shed by his vassals for
“ his painful and long infirmity will make
“ the best eulogium of our deceased sovereign,
“ as well as their vows and prayers, with
“ which they have incessantly supplicated
“ his re-establishment of heaven, as also the
“ patience

“ patience with which they have borne the
 “ suspension of near a year in government,
 “ without the least disorder or inquietude,
 “ and with a respect and love of justice only
 “ to be hoped for from the fidelity of this
 “ nation. His reign will be rendered equally
 “ glorious by the ease and tranquillity, which
 “ his people have enjoyed during the course
 “ of it (to the no small praise of his truly
 “ pious heart, since having inherited the
 “ crown in war, he rested not till he possessed it in peace), as also by so wise a conduct, that neither the hazards, in which the
 “ cruel perturbations suffered by the neighbouring powers with whom Spain is most
 “ connected in interest, threw him, nor the
 “ flattering considerations which might have
 “ offered, made him in the least swerve from
 “ his maxim, that peace is the greatest good to
 “ a nation, and that the monarch really glorious is he who procures it, taking care at
 “ the same time with worthy interior provi-

“ dence that his vassals do not abuse the ad-
“ vantages which attend repose.

“ Immediately after the death of our so-
“ vereign Don Ferdinand the sixth, couriers
“ were dispatched with the news of it, not
“ less important than melancholy, to our
“ present sovereign Don Carlos the third,
“ king of the two Sicilies, and to the queen
“ mother, sovereign regent of these king-
“ doms, till the arrival of her son, as well
“ by anticipated powers from his Sicilian
“ majesty, as by the last disposition of the
“ deceased king, and also, if there were oc-
“ casion, by the general acclamation of those
“ who cannot forget the part she acted in
“ the glorious reign of our late king Don
“ Philip the fifth her royal consort. O hap-
“ py nation ! for whom the Omnipotent in
“ depriving them of so glorious a master,
“ had prepared the consolation of another
“ not less illustrious, nor less a lover of his
“ country, and even of greater experience
“ in

“ in the arts of government (a good fortune
 “ to which monarchies are not accustomed)
 “ and during his absence, of the regent
 “ most capable of supplying his place in the
 “ direction of affairs, and who, as his mo-
 “ ther, is best adapted to alleviate that anxi-
 “ ety, with which it is natural his vassals
 “ should desire the sight of their sove-
 “ reign.”

Seville, 20th August. This evening I leave Seville, and reckon to be at Port St. Mary's to-morrow morning early, as I go by *Diligencia*, to use a Spanish expression, that is, I pay something extraordinary to travel all night, and a pretty good trot, otherwise I should have gone only a foot pace, and been, perhaps, two days upon the road. One of the great advantages of going in this manner is the travelling all by night, except, indeed, a little in the evening and morning, by which means you avoid being broiled alive in the very violent

344 L E T T E R S F R O M

fun of these countries. They have no post
horses in the southern parts of Spain, but
for couriers on horse-back. My next paper
then will, probably, be directed to you from
Port St. Mary's,

L E T.

L E T T E R LII.

PORT ST. MARY'S, AUG. 22, 1759.

UPON my arrival at this place I have found great news, which I think I cannot please you better than by sending you.

Extract of a letter from Gibraltar, without a date.

“ The Gibraltar frigate appeared off this
“ port the 16th instant, firing guns and
“ making false fires. This happened after
“ seven in the evening. Some time after
“ she came into the bay to speak with
“ admiral Boscawen, who being informed
“ by the captain that a fleet was off Ceuta
“ Point, consisting of fifteen sail, ordered
“ all his ships to slip and chase, which they
“ performed with such surprising celerity,
“ that

" that by ten they were all under way,
 " tho' not a sail was bent before, which it
 " must be owned was unlucky. Since their
 " departure the only intelligence we have
 " received is what you sent express. It
 " afforded universal joy here, as every body
 " imagines Boscawen has fallen in with the
 " seven ships that separated, and had not at
 " the time you wrote joined those arrived in
 " the bay of Bulls. My cousin lay on
 " board the Intrepid that night, and as I
 " have not seen or heard of him since, I
 " suppose he chose to embrace an opportu-
 " nity that he never, perhaps, could see
 " again, of being an ocular witness of Bri-
 " tish bravery. I hope soon to congratulate
 " you upon our success, and to advise you
 " in my next that this bay is decorated with
 " seven French men of war."

Extract of a letter from Cadiz without a
 date, which I have translated from the
 Spanish.

" We

“ We have the pleasure of reading in the
 “ journal or naval diary of a Spanish ship
 “ just arrived into the bay ; that admiral
 “ Boscawen came up with M. la Clue’s
 “ squadron at one o’clock in the day time
 “ on the 17th instant, fifteen leagues to the
 “ south of Cape St. Mary’s. That the
 “ firing began at the same hour, and con-
 “ tinued till seven at night, when the Spa-
 “ nish captain lost sight of them. He says
 “ the fire was most terrible ; that there was
 “ one ship entirely dismasted, and many
 “ others very badly treated ; that he knew
 “ of nothing more, having lost sight of
 “ them at the before mentioned time ;
 “ however, we may collect from hence that
 “ the French have been all taken or de-
 “ stroyed. I will give you more particulars
 “ in the evening, when the Spanish ship
 “ will be quite come into port. Compli-
 “ ments to the consul, &c.

Extract

348 LETTERS FROM

Extract of a letter from the same gentleman.

“ Cadiz, August 22, 1759. This m-
“ ment are arrived in a Portuguese boat two
“ French officers belonging to the square
“ dron which was commanded by M. de
“ Clue, one of whom is wounded. They
“ give a full account of the late battle of
“ the seventeenth, in which the French
“ admiral and rear admiral's ships were
“ burnt, three of seventy guns taken
“ and they imagine the two others have
“ escaped. In the evening I will write what
“ else occurs, &c.

“ P. S. The English ships suffered but
“ little. ”

An English gentleman here has just heard
from a French captain, that Boscawen has
blown up two ships, sunk two, and the
tw

two others have run themselves on shore on the coast of Spain, and one escaped.

This is all I have been able to collect you of these good news, which have rejoiced us very much, and made the remaining part of la Clue's squadron now in the bay of Cadiz look very dejected. There are three ships of the line and five frigates. In all likelihood their departure from hence will not be very soon, as our fleet will keep a good watch over them, and till the coast is clear I dare say they will not venture out.

—We do not know whether la Clue is alive or dead.

I must now tell you an escape I think I had in my journey from Seville to this place. You know we were to travel all night, and in the middle of it my servant and I were trotting quietly on in the calache, or two wheeled chaise, through a wide extended flat,

flat, said to be overflowed by the Guadalquivir or Betis during the winter season. The postilion had a dog who ran by the side of the mules, who all on a sudden began to bark, tho' we saw no object to excite his attention. We grasped, however, our pistols, and shortly after three men rose from off the ground, on which they had been lying prostrate in dark coloured jackets, hardly distinguishable from the earth itself. Two came to the right hand side of the chaise, where I was sitting, and one to the left; for though my servant declares he saw four, and the postilion five, I distinguished no more than I mention. They let us, however, pass, which I attribute to their seeing the pistols; for tho' it was night, I dare say the bright gleam of English steel might have struck their eyes. Be it as it may, the chaise passed unmolested, but no sooner were we gone by than they began running after us. The postilion, who must be an honest fellow, put his mules upon a gallop.

gallop. I held a pistol out at the window behind, which there is in most foreign carriages, but, tho' both my servant and the postilion urged me to fire, I resolved not to do it till one of the assailants touched the chaise, that I might make sure of him. After running, however, perhaps a hundred yards, they stopped, and we heard no more of them.

LET-

L E T T E R LIII.

PORT ST. MARY'S, AUG. 31, 1759.

I Will now give you the best account I can of the affair between the French fleet from Toulon and that under admiral Boscawen. I had it from the vice consul of Cadiz, who being at Gibraltar at the time of the fleet's setting sail from thence, out of curiosity went with them on board the Intrepid, to be an ocular witness of English bravery.

The French fleet, consisting of ten ships of the line and five frigates, sailed out of Toulon with an intention, as some imagine, of going to Brest and escaping, if possible, Boscawen at Gibraltar. People differ, however, very much in their opinions about their destination. I have heard that the French themselves profess to have been going to
Marti-

Martinico. I wonder indeed they make so much a secret of an expedition, which as it seems entirely frustrated, the concealing it can hardly now be of any service. But wherever they were bound, they arrived at the streights of Gibraltar the sixteenth of this month, and lay to till towards night, when they intended to pass through the *Gut*. The night was very dark, and I suppose they had chosen purposely for passing the streights a time when there was no moon. About an hour after sun-set they arrived at Ceuta point. The Gibraltar frigate, who was then cruising in the streights, perceived them, and immediately directed her course to Gibraltar bay, upon her entering which, she began firing guns and making false fires without end. I need not tell you false fires are a sort of rockets, intended for giving signals, and which they whirl about in their hands. Boscawen at last perceived her. He was then on board the *Namur*, but had dined in Spain that day, and if I mistake not with Bucareli the com-

A a mander

mander of the Spanish camp near Gibraltar, for the Spaniards have formed lines there, and keep a constant guard upon us. But wherever he dined, with Bucareli or the Commissioner *, he was certainly on board before the Gibraltar made her signals, tho' calumny has said the contrary. Indeed I hear he always sleeps on board, and obliges all the captains to do the same, in short, keeps a very good and strict discipline throughout the whole fleet. Upon the Gibraltar's signals he immediately ordered the fleet to sail. Surprising, says the gentleman I had this account from, was the haste with which every thing was got ready. Tho' three ships had their sails unbent, that is not put up to the yards, yet in two hours time they were all out of port and upon their way, for it was towards eight o'clock when the Gibraltar made her signals, and by ten they were at sea. Boscawen's and some other ships were out even before, but the whole fleet was under sail by that time. A Spaniard

He dined with the Commissioner.

niard who was at Gibraltar compared the confusion of the town to a hell upon earth. Nor were the land officers wanting in their jokes upon the English navy in having let the French fleet slip by. The French too, who had now passed the Gut, and thought themselves secure from being attacked, were shewing their wit at our expence, as was known afterwards. In one of the ships they drew a figure of admiral Boscawen standing upon the top of the hill at Gibraltar, with a great pair of spectacles upon a nose which reached quite over to Ape's-hill, the ancient mount Abila in Barbary, while the French were sailing under it. That division too of their fleet which came in here, as they did not imagine their companions were so closely pursued, were not without their sneers. *Ma foi*, says one of them to an Englishman, alluding to poor Byng's affair, *il faut pendre Mr. Boscawen*, with many other things of this nature. In the mean time Boscawen in

A a 2

the

the Namur led the way to the rest of the fleet, following however the Gibraltar frigate, who the moment she had perceived her signals were understood at Gibraltar, had hung out all her lights, and followed the track of the ships she had seen pass by, always keeping Boscawen in sight, who had hung out all his lights too, and kept following her as the rest of the fleet did him. In this position stood the chase all that night. It blew fresh, which you know is a sailor's expression for a storm. My friend, who was on board the Intrepid, says not a word was to be heard on board their ship, except from time to time the quarter master singing out the word "steady," which is the term used by our mariners, when the ship goes before the wind,

Indeed I must take this opportunity of making an excuse for entering into the description of an affair, which I am by no means capable

capable of painting properly, from my being entirely ignorant of sea phrases. But as I am no sailor, any blunder of that kind will be excusable.

A a 3

LET-

L E T T E R L I V.

PORT ST. MARY'S, AUGUST 29, 1759.

THE chase after the French fleet continued all night in the manner I have described it to you in my last paper, and in the morning seven ships were discovered as far off as they could see. Tho' seven seemed too small a number for a French fleet, and tho' it was very probable they might belong to that of the Spaniards now in Cadiz, yet we continued chasing with all the sail possible. The captain of the Shannon frigate, who is now at Cadiz, says, for his part, he thought he and his crew should have been all starved, for he was going to lay up to be cleaned at Gibraltar when the French passed, and setting sail so unexpectedly, he had only five days provision on board. If the chase had continued for some days nobody, undoubtedly,

edly, would have stopt to victual his ship, and he and his crew must have made the best shift they could. Indeed he might have left the chase and gone into some port, but every person had too much ardor to do that, and the whole fleet seemed inspired by one soul to get on as fast as they could. The first were the *Namur*, the *Swiftsure*, the *Warspite*, the *Culloden*, the *America*, the *Newark*, and the *Intrepid*. They got up with the French at one o'clock in the afternoon. They had known them to be such a good many hours before, by the things they had thrown out of their ships. You know all ships are obliged to clear away their lumber before an engagement. The French threw out a prodigious number of things. Fine pieces of carved furniture were seen floating about the sea. "G—d d—n them," says a sailor on board the *Intrepid*, "those ships are French, I know them by their fine guts." No person any longer doubting who they were, every art was put in

practice to get up with them, which, as I before told you, they did at one o'clock in the afternoon. It was certainly very surprising how the English fleet could come up with the French so soon, for the French vessels in general are reckoned better sailers, and they were just come out of port, whereas ours were very foul. Now to come up with them at one o'clock when they were only just visible in the morning, is most amazing, nor is there any way of accounting * for it but from the French fleet's separation, and thinking us their companions, which was certainly a lucky thing. The cause of this division seems to be but very lamely explained by the French, and in very different manners, a sort of proof that none of them are true. Some say that in the night time in coming, out of the streights, the part of the Squadron which entered Cadiz heard a couple of guns

* Our English officers attribute it entirely to the wind, which they say blew fresh near the shore, but had died away farther out at sea.

which

which was their admiral's signal for slackening sail, but which came from the English fleet, so that they confounded one with the other, and towards the morning, finding themselves alone, they put into Cadiz. Others say that a storm separated them just as they came out of the *Gut*, and that opening their sealed orders to be consulted on such an occasion, they found that, in case of separation near the streights, they were to go to Cadiz, which they accordingly did. But in whatever manner they divided, it could hardly be voluntary, for never was a fleet split in that manner, and all the great and best ships with the admirals and other chief officers in one division, and in the other all the frigates, and the three smallest ships of the line, with only a chance commander. But this is what the French must explain if they can. Now we imagine that La Clue and his seven great ships, when he saw us, thought us to be the rest of his squadron, and slackened sail for us to get up with him. What renders this
more

more likely is, that the seven before-mentioned ships of Boscawen were the only ones that were in fight for a long time, so that the French might easily imagine it was the remainder of their fleet with one ship wanting by some accident or other, for the division at Cadiz consists of eight, three vessels of the line and five frigates, as I have told you. La Clue, however, when he perceived his error began to prepare for the engagement with all the speed he could, sailing on, while he prepared, as fast as his ships would go, in hopes still of getting away from us, but it was then too late, as the high wind which blew assisted our heavy ships, and enabled them to keep on steadier and carry more sail, with other advantages enjoyed by us in a greater degree than by the French. Our fleet being at length come up, hostilities began, of which it would be dull to give you the very minute account my friend did me. However in my next paper I will tell you some of the principal circumstances, for
to

to say the truth, I heard so much about the engagement, and people asked him so many questions at a time, that every thing is quite confused in my head.

LET.

L E T T E R LV.

PORT ST. MARY'S, SEPT. 2, 1759.

WHILE the remains of our fleet came lagging behind, Boscawen's ship the *Namur* attacked the *Ocean*, which was that of the French admiral. It is said he would have taken her that evening, but an unlucky shot brought his fore or mizen mast, I do not know which, by the board. Immediately the French gave three shouts, and made the air ring again with *vive le roy*. Boscawen finding his ship rendered unfit for command, took down his flag, got into his barge, and went on board the *Newark*, which stood next him. The sea was still *roughish*, notwithstanding the firing of the cannon in an engagement generally lays the waves. The English greatly complain against the French for aiming at the admiral like a bird, as he
passed

passed from one ship to the other, which it seems is contrary to the rules of war. But Boscawen was soon on board the Newark, where he hoisted his flag, and the battle went on as brisk as ever. At last, night approached and favoured the French, who seemed to have no other idea than that of sailing off as fast as they could. Nay, even when the Ocean dismasted the Namur, after the three cheers away she went, but was intercepted by some others of our ships. And now under favor of the night they all crowded as much sail as possible and drove on before the wind. We followed them as well as the great darkness of the weather would permit. The Centaur, indeed, had struck the evening before, but still there remained six others. In the morning, however, four only were to be seen anchored under the coast of Portugal, which they had made in the night. The two others, which were the Guerrier and Sovereign, had disappeared,

nor

nor to this day is there any certain account what has become of them. They may have got to Lisbon * the nearest port, and we not have heard of it yet, but many, nay even the French themselves, are apt to think they went to the bottom, as they certainly were much shattered in the engagement. Admiral Boscawen, however, has sent two ships after them, which, if they are to be found, will, I dare say, give a good account of them. But to return to the four French ships at anchor. Finding themselves freshly attacked by Boscawen, the *Modeste* and *Temeraire* after a small resistance struck, but the *Océan* and *Redoubtable* cut away their anchors and run on shore. "Look what cowardly d—gs they are," says one of the sailors, who saw the *Océan* driving on shore, and he had hardly pronounced the words, when she struck against the ground, the

* After a tedious voyage they at last got into La Rochelle in France.

shock

shock of which brought every one of her
 masts by the board. The greatest part of the
 officers and sailors, as well of the Ocean as the
 Redoubtable, by getting into their boats and
 rowing briskly escaped being made prisoners.
 I think, however, we took out about one
 hundred and fifty, the greatest part of them
 wounded, when we went on board the
 Ocean to set fire to her, which same fate
 was shared by the Redoubtable, and they
 say when the latter blew up she made a most
 terrible explosion. She shook the very sea
 under all our ships. The powder on board
 the Ocean had got wet, as she had bulged in
 striking upon the shore. In this vessel there
 were two or three millions of livres (at least
 so it is reported) which in the hurry and
 confusion were not found. The sailors,
 however, got some long ruffled shirts, which
 they afterwards put on and looked very ridi-
 culous. During the small resistance these
 ships made in the morning, a little Portu-
 guese fort near which the combatants then
 were,

were, fired upon both, to shew them, I suppose, that they were under the king of Portugal's protection, but whether by chance or purposely, a broadside from one of our ships laid it flat to the ground. These are the principal circumstances I have been able to collect concerning this action, some parts of which the French, who have sought refuge at Cadiz, set in a very different light. They say the English burnt the one hundred and fifty men alive in the Ocean, that the whole fleet came up with their ships and that they made a most astonishing resistance. "Did not such a man," says a passionate Frenchman, who was exposing himself in a coffee-house at Cadiz, "did not he continue fighting to the last, tho' he had an arm shot off? Such another, did not he do the same without any legs?" I do not know whether he did not say a man came upon deck and fought without a head. However the English agree that monsieur de Chabranc, captain of the Centaur, who is now at Gibraltar,

taltar, behaved with the most remarkable bravery ; but if we are to believe the French every common man was equal to a captain, and the captains themselves something more than mortal.

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LET.

L E T T E R LVI.

PORT ST. MARY'S, SEPT. 5, 1759.

ADMIRAL Boscawen's victory over the seven ships being now compleat, having taken or destroyed all of them except the two which I have already informed you disappeared in the night time, separated his fleet into two divisions, his and that of Admiral Broderick, and went in quest of the remainder of the French fleet; I mean the eight ships which put into Cadiz, not the two which escaped by favor of the night. The exact number of them he did not know, nor where they were gone, but that there were more belonging to the seven he had to do with was undoubted. As for the two that escaped in the night, the Sovereign and Guerrier, two vessels were, as I said, dispatched after them, which, if I mistake not,

steered

steered towards Lisbon; and we have a current report here of the former being taken. It is reckoned a very particular circumstance that those ships should get so entirely out of sight as not to have the least glimpse of them visible in the morning. And it is this makes some people imagine that one, if not both, may have gone to the bottom, and to strengthen this idea, my friend says, that the night after the engagement, while they were chasing the four ships, single guns like those of distress were heard at a distance. But time will inform us of the truth of every thing. The French who escaped in their boats from the Ocean and Redoubtable, and were about two thousand, got to Lagos, the nearest little town upon the coast of Portugal. They give a dismal account of this place, and of the terrible situation of Mr. la Clue there, wounded, and without any of the conveniences a man in his condition requires. They say that one day two louis d'ors were given to buy a patridge to

make him some broth. The French complain, likewise, greatly against the Portuguese for denying common coarse provisions to the sailors, but I think the excuse the latter give is very satisfactory, that they have it not. Indeed, an English gentleman, who has been there, says he could hardly find victuals in Lagos for himself and his companion, much less can it be done for two thousand people. However, I believe the greatest part of them are now come to Cadiz, at least, of those who are not wounded. I myself saw two open boats of them come in, for those were the best conveyances they could get, who but a few days before were masters of the Ocean and Redoubtable. Some of the poor fellows were most miserably dressed, nor did any thing of finery remain to hardly any of them, except the hat and feather, the all in all of a French officer. Some of the wounded when they are well enough to change place, are, they say, to be quartered here at Port St. Mary's, in a sort of hospital-
hired

hired for that purpose. Many of those that are well are already set out for Malaga, where they hope to find an embarkation for France, if not, to go by land to Barcelona. As for La Clue, we are not only uncertain where he is at present, but in what manner he is wounded. We were first of all told that both his legs were carried off—we then sunk it to one, and now they say he has lost neither, but that he has them very much *fracassées*, with the calf of one gone. It is reported they have carried him from Lagos to St. Lucar, and that they intend to bring him here as soon as possible. I need not tell you that Admiral Boscawen was scratched with splinters all about his face and body without any dangerous wound, for I believe he may be in England before my letter, as there is a fresh report that he is gone there with his division, but how true I know not; for one moment the people say one thing, and the next they contradict it. I should imagine, however, that

B b 3

upon

upon hearing the remainder of the French fleet is in Cadiz harbour, he will send some of his ships to watch them. He has dispatched the Edgar, the Centaur prize, and two or three other ships that were in the battle to Gibraltar. The Temeraire and Modeste, which were taken, are said to be so little damaged, that they are cruising with Broderick.

Tho' the Frenchmen, with which Cadiz now swarms, are crest-fallen, yet at the same time they are very impertinent. In their turn, however, they suffer many insults from the common Spaniards, who you know hate them, tho' the government of late years has been in the hands of the Bourbon family. Coming in a public boat the other day from Cadiz to Port St. Mary's, as we were going along side a French vessel, the boatman hollowed out in broken English, "how do you do, sirs?" and I hear it is a common practice with the watermen to tease them

them in this manner. Indeed, they deserve it, for the young officers are most unfufferable. They will have an opportunity, however, of cooling their blood in the port of Cadiz, for I do not believe they will move from thence till the war is over. The Spaniards in joke advise them to sell their ships to the king of Spain. They wanted to go out the other day under convoy of Navarro's fleet, the Spanish admiral, who is gone to Naples to fetch the new king or queen of Spain, or both. It was, as you may imagine, refused them. They next desired him to take at least some of their men on board, and set them down in the nearest port they could to France, but that was not granted neither. I flatter myself that we shall now experience the Spaniards better friends than they have been for some years.

L E T T E R LVII.

PORT ST. MARY'S, SEPT. 9, 1759.

I Have now finished my account of the affair between Boscawen and La Clue. The loss of the English is I think only one hundred and thirty-five men killed, among which are but two or three officers. That of the French must have been much more considerable, but as they either do not know, or at least do not care to tell it, there can be no certainty. The French in the mean time refugeed at Cadiz have rendered themselves much disliked by all parties, by their vaunting behaviour, not to be smothered under adversity. The Roman catholic Irish declare that tho' the government of England is the object of their detestation, they would sooner have us for masters than this overbearing people. Their opinion, however, with regard

gard to the Spaniards seems quite different, and they think in case of a Spanish descent in Ireland, that they would be assisted by all the Roman-catholics, which you know are numerous,

And now to say a word about Port St. Mary's and Cadiz, two towns situated upon different sides of a large bay, but the intercourse between which is rendered very easy by the boats continually going backwards and forwards. They have been both taken by the English. Cadiz in queen Elizabeth's reign by Sir Francis Drake and the earl of Essex; and Port St. Mary's in the year 1702 under Sir George Rooke and the duke of Ormond, assisted by the Dutch. Cadiz was at that time attempted by the united fleets of England and Holland; but as they were able to do nothing against that town, they threw themselves upon the other side of the bay. The Spanish government of Port St. Mary's upon being summoned to surrender, only returned

returned this fullen answer, “ that Castilians never change their king or their religion.” The present deplorable condition of this once opulent and populous city is attributed to the English invasion, since which time it has been almost abandoned as insecure. Even grass is growing in some of the streets, and several fine palaces are altogether uninhabited and run to decay. However, it is a more agreeable town to me than Cadiz, which the hurry and confusion of so many people, who are sacrificing their ease for interest, renders a very unpleasing sojourn to a student.

I shall set out next week for Gibraltar, which is about two day's journey from hence. It is not absolutely impossible but I may there embark with our ambassador to the emperor of Marocco, appointed for redeeming the slaves taken upon the loss of the Litchfield. Some things, however, may arise to hinder me from putting this design into execution.

L E T-

L E T T E R LVIII.

GIBRALTAR, SEPT. 24, 1759.

AS you will see by my date I am at length in the British garrison. You shall now have a description of what little happened worth relating in my journey hither.

Dinner over at Port St. Mary's I put myself into a little row-boat which was to conduct me to Cadiz. Due ceremonies finished with the custom-house officers, who are rather troublesome in these parts, our diminutive vessel bore us out of the river Guadalete near the mouth of which Port St. Mary's is situated, and we entered into that vast bay, which takes its denomination from the town of Cadiz, the principal of the many that are dispersed round it. It may be two or three English leagues from Port St. Mary's

Mary's to Cadiz, but patience' and four oars at last brought us among the ships, most of which are anchored near the walls of the city. The first we came to was a British vessel, the Princess Louisa, whose waving colours seemed to bid defiance to a couple of the French frigates that lay near her. A little farther on was the Shannon frigate, with whom I had intended to come to Gibraltar, but her loitering so long at Cadiz made me at last resolve to travel by land. She stays, I think, for money to be brought hither, but if that is the case her delay may be long, as the queen dowager and regent has forbidden the exportation of any of that vast quantity of bullion arrived lately at Cadiz in the Spanish fleet from the West Indies. I wonder that Spain and Portugal, the only European nations who have mines of any great value, should not conceive that gold is as much a commodity with them as cloth with us. If they hinder us from receiving the product of their countries, how can they expect

expect we should give them those of ours ? A Portuguese nobleman was complaining to lord Tyrawley, when ambassador at Lisbon, how hard it was that such prodigious sums of their money should go annually into England. He replied that nothing was more easy in the world than for the Portuguese to remedy that complaint. Upon being asked in what manner, with an eagerness that shewed how agreeable such a piece of instruction would be, he answered dryly, “ that all they
 “ had to do was neither to eat nor cloath them-
 “ selves.” This, he said, alluding to the great quantities of corn and cloth yearly exported from England to that kingdom. Indeed of late the produce of our lands has been so little that we have been obliged to prohibit the exportation of wheat, and the Portuguese to seek for it elsewhere, but at present I hope from two years tolerable crops with us, things will be reinstated in their usual channel. Now for a nation, who has not bread to eat, nor cloth to cloath themselves with,

to

to be unwilling to purchase it with their very unuseful commodity in itself, gold, is a folly of which I flatter myself few people with us would be capable. This same maxim of keeping their gold in their country holds as good in Spain as in Portugal, tho' there is not so great a balance of trade in our favour, for many more commodities come to us from Spain than Portugal, which latter, excepting its fruit and wines does not, I believe, send the value of a shilling in goods to England, whereas it is said we cannot make our superfine cloth without the help of Segovia wool. But the queen dowager of Spain, intoxicated with the idea of enriching her kingdom and making it overflow with gold, has prohibited the exportation of money, at least of that which arrived lately to Cadiz, and which is not allowed as yet to be given out to its particular owners. As for any other it may, I believe, be exported at a certain duty per cent. which I do not think is an unfair way. But what I am
afraid

afraid of is, that England, without being allowed to take some of this money, will not get enough to repay the two millions of dollars (a dollar is about three and six-pence) that are due to her. Nay, it is thought it will be hard to get what little our garrison here wants, and our Marocco ambassador in particular, in order to redeem the three hundred slaves now in that kingdom, the remains of the crew that belonged to the Litchfield, &c. It will cost about forty thousand pounds to ransom them.

LET-

L E T T E R LIX

GIBRALTAR, SEPT. 27, 1759.

I Left you in my last paper in the middle of the bay of Cadiz, gazing at the different ships anchored there, which raised a dissertation upon money. I will now land you upon the mole, which is adorned with two large columns, that mean to represent the pillars of Hercules, in commemoration of those which he is said to have erected in these parts (tho' properly at Gibraltar or the ancient Calpe,) as being arrived to the end of the world; for in such light did the ancients consider the western parts of Europe, as they were ignorant of America. The *ne plus ultra* written upon these fabulous columns is not badly alluded to in the large Spanish silver coins, by a ship's sailing through them with the words *plus ultra* inscribed. Upon my
entrance

entrance into the town, I met the person I wanted, who is a merchant of Gibraltar, and who was to accompany me hither. I had got acquainted with him at Port St. Mary's, where he came to see the new king proclaimed, a ceremony consisting of nothing but a cavalcade round the town, which stopped in the different squares, while marquis Terri, with the royal standard in his hand, mounted scaffolds erected for that purpose, and pronounced the following words; beginning with an *oyes*, which is literally Spanish for *hear*.

“ Oyes, oyes, oyes,

“ Castille, Castille, Castille, and the great
 “ port of St. Mary's. Long live our love-
 “ reign lord Don Carlos the third.”

These words were no sooner out of his mouth than about a hundred pieces of silver scattered among the mob set them to scrambling and crying out *viva* with all

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their

their might. We hear that the Austrian ambassador at Madrid has objected to the title of Charles the third being given to the present king, and has declared, by order from his court, that he ought to be called Charles the fourth, upon account of the emperor Charles the sixth, then archduke of Austria, having ruled in Spain for some little time, before the more fortunate arms of Philip the fifth expelled him from that kingdom. But the case is, that he never was publicly proclaimed or acknowledged, and therefore does not enter properly into the list of Spanish kings.

At Cadiz we were much distressed by not being able to find horses to carry us to Gibraltar, as the governor of that town had laid an embargo upon them to attend the French, who once belonged to the Ocean and Redoubtable, to Malaga, where they were in hopes of finding some conveyance to return to France. Indeed, I think it was
doing

doing their nation much honor to employ all the hireable horses of a populous city, to convey their persons to the desired port; but the governor of Cadiz is esteemed a thorough well wisher to their cause, and all his actions have sufficiently testified it, and in particular the affair of the Antigallican privateer, which tho' our court seems to lie dormant at present, will not, I believe, be so easily forgotten. You, perhaps, know the affair as well as I, but in a few words it was this. The Antigallican privateer, tho' of inferior force, took upon the coast of Galicia the duke de Penthievre, a rich French East-Indian vessel. The people on board her confessed themselves legally captured. The Antigallican carried her into Cadiz. By subornation, as it is said, the governor got some of the French prisoners to swear the contrary in that port, to what they had affirmed at sea. They swore the duke de Penthievre when taken was within cannon shot of a Spanish fort. The affair came to

a trial, which was given against Foster, the captain of the Antigallican, and his prize was not only wrested from him, but his own ship taken away by force and given to the French, who are now fitting her out, and I believe she is to sail as soon as ever admiral Broderick's fleet, who are now off Cadiz, will permit her. The affair has been, I believe, transmitted to Madrid by appeal, but I know not that any answer has been obtained. As for the governor of Cadiz, I believe he now begins to retract a little, since the accession of the new king to the throne, and the great success of the English. Now fortune smiles, we begin to find all people our friends. At the time of the loss of Port Mahon, when Great Britain was taking a nap, as the world thought we were down, each was giving a shove to push us lower. It is the way of the world.

LET.

L E T T E R L X.

GIBRALTAR, OCTOBER 1, 1759.

TH E disappointment of not finding horses made us resolve to take a boat, and go over to Chiclana, which was in our way, in hopes of finding some there. Chiclana is about twelve miles from Cadiz, at the very end of the bay, two or three miles up the country, upon a little river that conveys boats to it. But we had not gone half the way, when certain black clouds arose to the levant or east, which would not permit us to stir a step further in the course we were sailing. There was; likewise, some thunder, and we expected rain, but we had not any till two or three days ago, which has finely refreshed the air, and it is now the most pleasant weather that can be imagined.

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If we could compound the two climates of Spain and England by remitting them some of our rain, and receiving in return a little dry weather, they would both be the finest in the world. However, at present I cannot but think that we are rather too wet at home, and that the beholding something more of the sun would not do us any harm. But yet the prodigious blaze he shines forth with here in Spain, while he rides so near us for months together without one cloud or drop of rain to cool the air, seems to me an excess on the contrary side.

The thunder and contrary wind hindering us from being able to put into execution our intended expedition by water to Chiclana, we were obliged to take the boatman's advice, and stop short at a place called La Isla, or the island, tho' only separated, as well as Cadiz, from the main land by a small stream, over which there is a bridge. We here got horses, and proceeded upon our
journey

journey to Chiclana about half an hour before sun-set. We went upon a good made road, like a turnpike in England, for about three miles, through a country where there were nothing but salt-pits. The manner they make salt in these hot dry climates is by letting the sea into holes dug for that purpose, where the force of the sun dries it up, and the sediment that remains is salt. The latter part of our road was through a sort of forest, and but indifferent. The muskatoes were, likewise, very troublesome, and hung as thick as they could cluster upon the boughs of the trees. At last, tho' some time after dark, we arrived at Chiclana, and put up at a French inn there. Our landlord welcomed us to the *hotel* as he termed it; for Chiclana being a pretty place, many of the French, who swarm at Cadiz, make excursions to it from thence for the benefit of a little fresher air, which makes it worth while to keep a better and consequently

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more

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more expensive house. We here with difficulty got horses and a guide, and set out in the morning before it was light for Gibraltar.——

L E T.

L E T T E R L X I.

GIBRALTAR, OCTOBER 4, 1759.

THE rising sun gave us a view of our cattle, which were not of the most excellent kind. It was now, however, too late to complain, and we comforted ourselves that the present road was very good, tho' we had the mortification of knowing that which was to come to be most villainous, nay, they even went so far as to say that it was almost impassible. We dined in a miserable inn at a place called Vexel, situated upon the top of a mountain, which we ascended by mistake, as we ought to have baited in the bottom. The way down again was most rugged and bad, and we were obliged to walk it, and stay in a most wretched hovel in the valley, till our horses could be got to us. Poor as this habitation was, we found some
excellent

excellent dried grapes, which I think are better than when fresh. I wonder we do not come into this way of preserving them in England. Our grapes certainly do not ripen so easily, but that I think is no objection against their keeping as well. If I do not mistake, they close the end of the stalk, after taking care there is no rotten grape in the bunch, with sealing-wax, and then hang them up in the air, where nothing can touch them. We intended to lie at a place called Los Varios, not above three Spanish leagues from Gibraltar, however, towards the evening we were glad to take up with a little hut three leagues short of it. One of the principal causes of our falling so short of our intentions was the very bad road, so bad in one rocky place, that our guide's loaded horse could no longer stand upon his feet, and down he came, guide, baggage and all. The time we took in getting the poor animal up, as he had hurt himself, together with the debilitated state of our own cattle, made

made us determine to put up at the next house we should come to, which a countryman, I believe the only person we had met all that evening, informed us was not far off. After a very slow progress, we at length arrived at the solitary mansion, which was a little inn in the woods for the poor people who pass that way. You may imagine we could here get nothing, so that we were obliged to live upon what we brought with us. As for our bedding, it consisted in a sort of broad manger built all round a room, and filled with rushes, where we were obliged to extend our weary limbs, one lying beyond the other, but where I slept more soundly than I have done in better beds,——

L E T.

L E T T E R LXII.

GIBRALTAR, OCTOBER 8, 1759.

WE fet out from the wretched place mentioned in my laſt in the morning before it was light, and had luckily a good road till fun-riſe. We then began entering among rocks that formed the moſt horribly romantic proſpect I have ever, perhaps, ſeen in my life. The conſul of Cadiz's expreſſion concerning them will give you the beſt idea of the ſcene I was then beholding. It would make, ſays he, even a *buck* deſpair. It was a valley hemmed in by cloſe rugged rocks, whoſe tops aſcended to the clouds, but which were deſtitute of verdure, except towards the bottom, where there were a number of gloomy evergreens, tho' thinly ſcattered. After having paſſed this bad mountainous country, we came into a more agreeable

agreeable sort of plain, tho' still there was nothing particularly beautiful. And now the rock of Gibraltar began to appear in sight. As it is of a considerable height, you see it at a considerable distance. My companion and I wished each other reciprocally joy upon the view of it. It was a bright day and we could even distinguish many different parts, tho' we still wanted many miles to get to our journey's end. As we were determined to arrive at St. Rock's, if possible, by dinner, we set on a good pace, leaving our guide and baggage behind. At length the whole rock of Gibraltar stood entirely exposed to view. It appeared from the place where we were riding as if the sea entirely divided it from the main land. A little on our left lay St. Rock's upon the top of a hill. This is reported to be a town built and inhabited by the Spaniards, who fled from Gibraltar upon our becoming masters of that fortress. They are said constantly with wishful eyes to behold their
ancient

ancient habitation; tho' few of the real inhabitants can be now living, except in their children. Upon our arrival at St. Rock's, we entered a tolerable inn, where not a bad dinner was served up in a room that had a most delightful prospect. The whole garrison of Gibraltar lay beneath us, at about the distance of five miles, and beyond that Europa point, and beyond that the Barbary coast; upon which the high mountain Abila, called by the Gibraltar people Ape's hill, made no inconsiderable figure. But having mentioned Barbary, it will be proper to acquaint you that I set sail in a few days for Tetuan, with the ambassador appointed to treat with the king of Marocco, not only for the redemption of our slaves wrecked with the Litchfield, but also, if possible, to settle a peace with these barbarians.

LET-

L E T T E R LXIII.

GIBRALTAR, OCTOBER 25, 1759.

I HAVE been obliged to omit writing to you last week, as a violent every-day's ague, or to use the apothecary's term, double tertian, rendered me incapable of applying to any thing. As this illness has destroyed my Barbary scheme, I shall set out in a few days for Cadiz. My journey to Tetuan proved very short. On Monday the 15th I went on board the *Guernsey*, hurried away between the hot and cold fit of my ague, but, notwithstanding all the bustle that was made, we did not sail till the morning afterwards. The wind was then a levanter, or easterly, which was contrary for us to lie in Tetuan bay, and our commander did not care to hazard being driven on shore with the charge

charge of money we had for the redemption of the slaves. However as every thing was so far advanced, we set out in hopes of its changing the next morning. We had the Thetis frigate in company. Our voyage was very short, and, indeed, ought rather to be considered as a little cruise than any thing else, tho' we got within six or seven leagues of Tetuan that night. We lay to till morning, when finding the same wind continue we returned to Gibraltar by dinner time. Thus ended our expedition, and upon my landing I was immediately laid up with my ague. They have since had a second jaunt, but have done little more in it than in the first. Indeed all the English who had nothing to do with the ships landed, and went a shooting at Tetuan, but as for public business, I believe, there was nothing done, except sending the ambassador's secretary to the king of Marocco with the king's letter.

The

The ships and every thing else are returned, but that gentleman is still upon his course. I think he is to make no less than eight days journey of it to the place where his African majesty is at present. He is now in an encampment among some mountains, where he is inflicting severe justice upon the inhabitants, who, if I mistake not, have never been willing rightly to own his authority. This gentleman must have but a dismal journey, with a guard of hideous Moors about him, and without any company but the king's letter, which he has got in a box. The letter is big enough for a pillow, and finely painted round the direction with flowers and I do not know what all. The words of the direction, if I can remember, are pretty nearly these.

“ To the most high and glorious monarch,
 “ the mighty and right noble Sidi Mahomet
 “ Ben Abdallah, emperor of the kingdoms of

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“ Ma-

“ Marocco, Fez, Tafilet, Sus, Dahra, and
“ the Algarve, with his other territories in
“ Africa.”

There is more of it, but I cannot recollect it. I suppose the king has written in person to the emperor, upon account of the latter being so much offended at some letters sent him signed by Mr. Pitt, for he does not understand secretaries of state. “ I expect the
“ king your master,” said he, “ will write
“ to me himself,” and other things of that nature.

In my next I will continue my journey to Gibraltar.

L E T-

L E T T E R . LXIV.

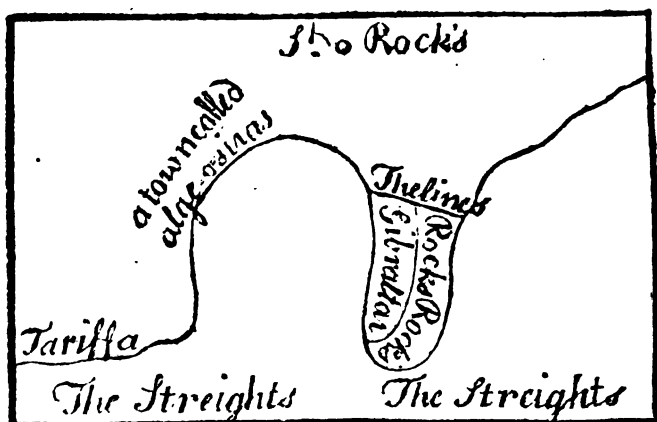
GIBRALTAR, OCTOBER 28, 1759.

TO finish my journey to the British garrison, we must return to where I left off, which was at our looking out at a window at St. Rock's in expectation of the appearance of dinner. But other affairs soon engrossed our attention. Gibraltar, by which I mean what the English possess, is a peninsula, and the neck of land which joins it to the rest of Spain may be a mile or more in breadth. Across this isthmus the Spaniards have run certain fortifications, which they call the lines, and they are terminated at either sea by a little fort. As there is a guard of Spanish soldiers continually here, no person can pass them without a license first obtained from the Spanish commander, who lives at St. Rock's. The getting this licence was

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what

what was engrossing our present attention. To give you a better idea of the lines, and what I have said concerning them I will make you an extemporary sketch of them.



But do not think the plan I have been giving you has any pretence to perfection. Every thing is immoderately, infinitely, exorbitantly out of proportion. I only scratched it out from my own head just to give you faint idea of the position of the Spanish lines. They curb the English much.

much. When they were building, it is reported that our governor of Gibraltar at that time complained to our court about it. The ministry sent out some person, I do not know whom, to inspect the affair, and demand of the Spaniards the reason of all these hostile preparations in time of peace. The answer made was that what they were doing was with no view against the English, but for a defence against the Moors. Our good inspector was contented with the answer, and things passed off in this manner, tho' perhaps the Spaniards might think they had a right to build what they please upon their own ground. The English have since found how detrimental these lines have been, as from thence the Spaniards can annoy our ships in the bay, unless, indeed, they retire down to what is called the New Mole, which was made on that account. Finding much delay in obtaining a license to pass this barrier, and my companion having acquaintances among the Spanish offi-

cers, we resolved to try our fortune without it. We found many English carousing with them at a hut or inn, just without the gate of the lines. In times of peace with the Spaniards, or at least at present, the English have liberty to go and dine or ride out in Spain whenever they chuse, so they have a passport from the English governor. But nobody can go fresh into the garrison from Spain without a particular license from Bucareli the Spanish commander. This is the agreement the two governors have made together. Now by our mixing ourselves with the other gentlemen of the garrison, through the connivance of my companion's Spanish friends, we appeared to come under the governor of Gibraltar's permission. And in fact the centries let us pass without saying a single syllable, tho' we had afterwards much difficulty about our baggage, which we had left far behind. But other things, were entertaining our thoughts at present. We were making our remarks upon the rock of Gibraltar,

raltar, which stood full before our view. We were still upon the flat deep sands that run between the two seas before you come to the town. The rock which rises perpendicularly from the ground, on the right hand of which are situated the land fortifications of the garrison, with the sea, all together formed a most romantic prospect. But we now entered the gate of Gibraltar, and I found myself once more under the protection of my native country.

L E T T E R LXV.

GIBRALTAR, NOV. 2, 1759.

IN my last paper I left you upon our entrance into Gibraltar. When we had past the gate and the English guard at it, our company separated. My companion and I proceeded into the heart of the town, where we met several officers of his acquaintance, who recommended me to a lodging. We were now got to the parade, the best part of Gibraltar, and upon my word it looked very pretty, tho' perhaps it might appear better from my having come through so many bad towns in Spain for a foil. The next morning I paid my visit of ceremony to the governor at the convent; for the habitation of the governors of Gibraltar was originally such, and the church belonging to it is now used by the garrison. When
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the English first took this rock, which was in the year 1704, two years after the expedition to Port St. Mary's, they did not seem to know the importance of the place. It divides the two naval powers of France and Spain pretty nearly into two equal parts, and consequently, renders them both considerably weaker, as to unite their forces you see they must run the danger of passing the streights, which we have proved of late how badly it has succeeded to the French. If we had not Gibraltar, what would be easier than for the French or Spaniards to send a fleet there in time of war, and keep us entirely out of the Mediterranean? Indeed, at present we are likely to be in some degree of amity with Spain, and I hope for some time; for it does Spain and England much more reciprocal damage to be at war with each other than with France. The reason is this, that France and we, except for a few wines, and the counterband trade, have no commerce at all together. And what little

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we have with them is prejudicial to us, as so much clear money goes out of the kingdom, for they want no products of ours in exchange. Cloth they make nearly as good, as ourselves, and much cheaper. Leather, and a thousand other commodities we have in England, they want not. On the contrary, Spain takes off these and a great many more, and in return gives us a little wool, fruit, wine and oil, but the surplus is made up in good pistoles. We expect, likewise, this year to have a great deal of corn come from England into these parts, for we hear there has been a very plentiful crop with you, and in Spain, besides not an over abundance last harvest, they have not had above a shower or two these seven months. You may imagine, therefore, we have but a bad prospect for next year. Here at Gibraltar, indeed, we have had something more of rain, and one shower so prodigiously hard in the night time, that when we got up in the morning, we found the town all full of gravel, which had been washed down from
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from the hill. I have already told you, I think, that Gibraltar stands at the foot of the highest most craggy rock that can be imagined. Two very disagreeable things arise from this situation. One is, that as the mountain is pretty nearly due east, it reflects the rays of the sun in the afternoon so violently, that you feel a redoubled heat from it. The other is the ugly prospect it affords, to look upon such a blasted eminence without any thing green upon it, tho' it is said there are many botanical herbs, but they are too small to strike the eye. Indeed, the whole of Gibraltar is very contrary to a person who loves to enjoy rural scenes, but the want of green to a traveller is in great measure made up by the romanticness of the place. The most curious walk I know is down to Europa point. You go among rocks that seem rent, and torn, and displaced by millions of earthquakes, till at last you come to a fort of a point, a *ne plus ultra*, where the peninsula of Gibraltar ends.

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L E T T E R LXVI.

CHICLANA, NOV. 5, 1759.

AS you will see by my date, I am at last got thus far in my way from Gibraltar to Cadiz. Tho' I am recovered of the ague, which attacked me so violently, I may stay here a day or two, as it is reckoned fine air, in order to re-establish myself perfectly.

I have but few things to add concerning Gibraltar. The fortifications seem the most curious part of the whole place. As those towards Spain are formed and interwoven with the rock, it seems difficult, if not impossible, to dismount the guns. Willis's battery, all up in the heavens, appears to me to command what approaches the Spaniards can possibly make. The last time they besieged Gibraltar, they attempted to undermine this

this battery, and worked on thirty yards through the living stone, but the garrison perceiving their intentions, rendered them unavailing, by blowing up the upper part of the rock as fast as they did underneath, and letting the immense stones, torn off by the force of gun-powder, roll down upon their heads. We have since overflowed the ground lying without the land-port with the sea, and have only left a cause-way, or rather bridge, to enter the town, and that is defended by what they call the grand battery, and many other cannon; particularly two which are placed by themselves, something lower than Willis's battery. They are in such a position as to command fully the entrance into the town, and by the rocks winding beside them, are difficult to be dismounted, not to mention their height. These two guns were what galled the Spaniards most in the last siege, and some even go so far as to say that they saved the place. If, however, it is any ways weak, it is towards

wards the sea, but as the ramparts are high, the landing, in case of a breach, would be dangerous ; there are, however, so many guns all along that part, I do not see how a ship could lie to batter the walls without being disabled. We need not, indeed, talk of Gibraltar being attacked by sea, till we find a nation able to cope with us upon that element. All these things considered, I esteem that fortress as almost impregnable, I will not say quite, because treachery or unforeseen accidents may give the lie to the surest foresight. The back of Gibraltar is defended by nature with such inaccessible rocks, that no enemy without wings can molest us that way. The ascent to the top of them is steep towards the town, but on the other side towards the Mediterranean nearly perpendicular. On one of the highest parts of this mountain the English have erected their signal house, to give notice of the arrival of ships, as is customary
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in ports. I went up here once out of curiosity, and once is surely enough for any person, so much labour is it to get there, tho' a foldier carries up a little barrel of water every day for the use of the guard stationed upon that bleak spot. This is all his day's work, which you may think sufficient. The gentleman who accompanied me could hardly keep himself upon his feet, his head turned to such a degree, but he says he is particularly affected that way when he comes to any precipice. He was the secretary to our Barbary ambassador, and who in the second expedition, while my ague confined me to my bed, landed and went, attended by a hundred of the emperor's guards, to Marocco, or rather to a mountain where Sidi Mahomet is encamped at present. Had I been well, I should certainly have borne him company, which he would have esteemed as no small favor; for he can have but unentertaining ideas in an evening, surrounded

416 LETTERS FROM

rounded with a hundred Moorish guards, all blacks, and without any person to speak with. His errand, as I have mentioned, was to carry the king's letter.

END OF VOL. I.

611

